



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-219
Thursday
12 November 1992

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-92-219

CONTENTS

12 November 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Nuclear Arms Being Removed From Northern Fleet Ships [Moscow TV]	2
Foiled Plutonium Sale to Iraq Reported [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Nov]	2
Ecology Ministry Details Secret Nuclear Tests in Kazakhstan [IZVESTIYA 29 Oct]	2

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

'Tentative' Draft Agenda for CIS Council [ITAR-TASS]	3
CIS Foreign Ministers Meet in Moscow [ITAR-TASS]	3
Shaposhnikov Wants Russia-Ukraine Nuclear Summit [INTERFAX]	3
Commander on Russian Troop Withdrawal From Baltics [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Nov]	4
Baltic Leaders Back Talks on Russian Withdrawal [ETA NEWS BULLETIN]	5
Yegorov, Others on Problems of Baltic Fleet [Moscow TV]	5
Baltic States Agree on Sea Deliveries of Fuel [Riga Radio]	6
NATO Said To Claim 'Permanent Presence' in Black Sea [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Nov]	6
ITAR-TASS Reviews 11 November Press	6
12 November Press	7

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Further on Yeltsin's Visit to Great Britain	8
Yeltsin Addresses Parliament [Russian TV]	8
Yeltsin's Opening Remarks at News Conference [ITAR-TASS]	11
Yeltsin News Conference [ITAR-TASS]	12
'Text' of Russian-British Economic Agreement [ITAR-TASS]	14
Agreement on Secure Telephone Link [ITAR-TASS]	15
Accord on Civil Aviation Security [ITAR-TASS]	17
Yeltsin Arrives in Hungary on Official Visit [ITAR-TASS]	19
Addresses Hungarian Parliament [ITAR-TASS]	19
Yeltsin, Hungary's Antall Hold News Conference [ITAR-TASS]	22
Yeltsin Signs Minority Rights Accord [ITAR-TASS]	24
TASS Sums Up Russian-Hungarian Talks [ITAR-TASS]	26
Kozyrev, Hungarian Foreign Minister Discuss Yugoslavia [Budapest TV]	26
Yeltsin Returns to Moscow After UK, Hungary Visits [ITAR-TASS]	27
ITAR-TASS Kills Aviation Security Agreement	27

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Government Session Postponed Due to Gaydar's Late Return [ITAR-TASS]	28
Yeltsin, Gaydar, Khasbulatov To Address Congress [Radio Rossii]	28
Shumeyko Says No Personnel Changes in Government [Moscow TV]	28
Calls Law on Government Unconstitutional [INTERFAX]	28
Urges Yeltsin Not To Sign Law [ITAR-TASS]	29
Says Parliament Tries To Control Government [INTERFAX]	29
Yeltsin Orders Foreign Ministry To Coordinate Overall Policy [INTERFAX]	29
Fatherland Faction Seeks To Oust Gaydar From Post [INTERFAX]	30
Civic Union Criticizes Plan for Presidential Rule [Radio Rossii]	30

Compromise With Government Said Goal [Moscow TV]	30
Yeltsin Seen as Toughening Position [INTERFAX]	31
Reported Ambition for Power Denied [KURANTY 12 Nov]	31
'Smena-New Policy' Not To Break With Civic Union [INTERFAX]	31
Call To Accept Civic Union Program [ITAR-TASS]	32
Sterligov Rejects Report of Pact With Civic Union [INTERFAX]	32
'New Russia' Group Urges Pact for Civil Peace [INTERFAX]	32
Proposes Broad Political Pact [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Nov]	33
Reformers Down, Opposition Up in Recent Survey [INTERFAX]	33
Reform Coalition's Recent Failures Analyzed [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Nov]	33
Academicians Discuss Flaws in Current Power Structure [MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 15 Nov] ...	34
Poltoranin: Government Problems Not To Be Exaggerated [ITAR-TASS]	34
Yeltsin's 'Image Maker' Interviewed [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 7 Nov]	35
Federal Government Appointments Reported [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 11 Nov]	37
Ministerial Dismissals Linked to Nationalities Policy Flaws [MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 15 Nov]	37
Air Transport Group Wants Independence From Ministry [IZVESTIYA 7 Nov]	38
Sobchak: Changes to Government, Reforms Needed [INTERFAX]	38
Calls for Strict Policy in Caucasus [INTERFAX]	38
Journalist Says Gaydar Acts on Northerners' Concerns [Magadan Radio]	38
'Working Moscow' Leader Anpilov Interviewed [PRAVDA 7 Nov]	39
Commentary on Lasting Impact of October Revolution [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Nov]	41
Conflicts in Chechnya, Ingushetiya, N. Ossetia	43
Chechen Leader Threatens War on Troops [ITAR-TASS]	43
Chechen Parliament on Russia's 'Aggression' [ITAR-TASS]	43
Chechen Official Praises Gaydar Mission [ITAR-TASS]	43
Gaydar Reaches Agreement With Ingush Leaders [INTERFAX]	43
Says Troops To Stay in Ingushetiya [ITAR-TASS]	44
Says Troops Will Not Advance [ITAR-TASS]	44
Blames Politicians for Conflict [ITAR-TASS]	44
To Seek Prosecutions on Conflict [INTERFAX]	45
Tanks Leave Chechnya After Border Accord [ITAR-TASS]	45
Withdrawal From Chechen Border Suspended [ITAR-TASS]	45
Ingushes Said Moving Tanks Into Chechnya [INTERFAX]	45
Rutskoy Denies War With Chechnya [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 Nov]	46
Russian Ministry Briefing on Conflict [Moscow Radio]	46
Ingushes Will Not Rule Out Guerrilla Tactics [ITAR-TASS]	46
Ingush Refugees Seek Russian Protection [ITAR-TASS]	46
Russian Official Says Troops Should Remain [ITAR-TASS]	47
Denies Withdrawal of Troops From Ingushetiya [ITAR-TASS]	47
N. Ossetia Stabilizing; Hostages Exchanged [ITAR-TASS]	48
No Explanation for Resignation of Internal Troops Chief [IZVESTIYA 12 Nov]	48
Shakhrai Confirms Appointment as N. Ossetia Head [ITAR-TASS]	48
Appointment Seen Increasing Panel Status [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 6 Nov]	48
Commentator on Nomination [Moscow Radio]	49
Maneuvering Behind Appointment Analyzed [IZVESTIYA 11 Nov]	49

Military, Nuclear & Security Issues

Yeltsin Submits Draft Decree on Sales of Military Stocks [INTERFAX]	50
Yeltsin Edict on Use of Self-Defense Devices [KOMMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Nov]	50
Government Decides on Funding for Troops in Baltics [Moscow TV]	51
Forms Commission on Baltic Troop Withdrawal [INTERFAX]	51
Deputy Defense Minister on Troop Withdrawal [Moscow International]	51
Ministry Denies 'Rumors' on Oath, Draft Deferral [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Nov]	52
New Moscow Militia Chief Appointed [INTERFAX]	52
Fire on Nuclear Submarine Extinguished [ITAR-TASS]	52
Officials on Disclosure of Chemical Arms Revelations [Moscow TV]	52

Agricultural & Economic Issues

Harvest, Sowing Situation Reviewed [IZVESTIYA 12 Nov]	54
Yeltsin Submits Draft on Investment Guarantee Body [INTERFAX]	55
Civic Union's Volskiy Urges Action on Unemployment [INTERFAX]	55
Oil Production Declines, Excavated Coal Increases [INTERFAX]	55
1993 Oil Production Estimated at 340 Million Tonnes [Moscow TV]	55
Over 340,000 Apartments Privatized in Moscow [INTERFAX]	56

Crime Issues

3,500 Trespassers Detained at Borders Recently [INTERFAX]	56
Crime Situation Still Difficult [FEDERATSIYA 5 Nov]	56
Yerin: Crime Increase Forecast 'Not Reassuring' [PRAVDA 6 Nov]	56

Media Issues

New Newspaper for Property Owners Published [IZVESTIYA 24 Oct]	57
Economic Journal Changes Name, Targets New Readers [KURANTY 12 Nov]	57
Moscow To Get Free Weekly Advertising Newspaper [Moscow Radio]	57

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin To Meet With Presidium Before Congress [ITAR-TASS]	57
Likelihood of Yeltsin 12 Nov Speech Discounted [Moscow Radio]	58
Yeltsin Amendments on Draft Law Rejected [Russian TV]	58
Yeltsin Noninvolvement Urged [Moscow International]	58
Resolution on North Ossetia Issued [ITAR-TASS]	58
Observer Says Deployment 'Unprepared' [INTERFAX]	59
Defense, Security Secretary on Chechen Situation [INTERFAX]	59
Khasbulatov Disappointed With Shumeyko Statement [ITAR-TASS]	59
Wants Statement Backing President [INTERFAX]	59
Deputies Warn About Possible State of Emergency [INTERFAX]	60
Deputy Rejects Statement [ITAR-TASS]	60
Report on Supreme Soviet's 10 Nov Proceedings [Russian TV]	60
Parliament Supports Joining International Finance Corp [INTERFAX]	61
Parliament Adopts Bill on Constitutional Amendments [ITAR-TASS]	61
Opposition Reportedly Increasing in Supreme Soviet [INTERFAX]	62
Faction Warns of Changes in Supreme Soviet Composition [ITAR-TASS]	62
Draft Law on State Secrets Currently Under Discussion [INTERFAX]	63

Regional Affairs

St. Petersburg Mayor Favors Arms Trade [INTERFAX]	63
Caucasian Confederation Orders Partial Mobilization [INTERFAX]	63
Chechen Leader Dudayev Outlines Hopes for 'Caucasian Home' [FEDERATSIYA 5-11 Nov]	63
Sakhalin Governor To Ask Yeltsin To Make Kurils Free Economic Zone [Tokyo KYODO]	64
Moscow Militia Short Nearly 7,000 Staffers [KURANTY 11 Nov]	65

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Kravchuk Reiterates Nuclear Arms Position in Talk With Clinton [ITAR-TASS]	66
Delegation to Black Sea Fleet Talks Discusses Position [Kiev Radio]	66
Kravchuk Briefs French Minister on Domestic Situation [INTERFAX]	66
Official Reports on Meeting With CSCE Committee [Kiev Radio]	66
Commentary Views Clinton Election Victory [HOLOS UKRAYINY 6 Nov]	67

National Affairs

Kravchuk Holds News Conference on START Ratification, Other Issues [INTERFAX]	67
Prime Minister Kuchma on Economic Problems, Solutions [PRAVDA 11 Nov]	68
Article Examines Shift in Parliament's Position on Nuclear Status [MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 10 Nov]	70
Army Releases Statistics on Desertion [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Nov]	71
Christian Social Union Holds Constituent Congress [Kiev TV]	71

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine Leaders To Discuss Russian Oil Policy [INTERFAX]	72
Official Previews Activities, Viewpoints at CIS Summit [INTERFAX]	72
Kebich Tours Industrial Center; Comments on Policies [NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 11 Nov]	72
Parliament Introduces Military Service Law [ITAR-TASS]	73
Approves Text of Military Oath [INTERFAX]	73
Authorities Uncover Operation Smuggling Uranium to Poland [Warsaw PAP]	73
Document Authorizes Opening of Embassies in Several Nations [INTERFAX]	74
Defense Minister Outlines Army Doctrine, Reorganization [RESPUBLIKA 21 Oct]	74

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

National Conference on Constitution Opens in Alma-Ata [Alma-Ata Radio]	77
Nazarbayev Supports Endeavors [ITAR-TASS]	77
Highlights National Advantages [INTERFAX]	77
Stresses Independent Development Path [INTERFAX]	78
Tereshchenko on Anti-Crisis Measures [ITAR-TASS]	78
Nazarbayev Briefs French Official on National Stability [INTERFAX]	78
Prime Minister Signs Cooperation Agreement With Turkmenistan [KAZTAG]	79

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Argues Case for Strong Executive [MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 15 Nov]	79
Government Signs Collaboration Agreements With Moldova [INTERFAX]	81

Tajikistan

Government Statement on Resignation, Call for Cease-Fire [Dushanbe Radio]	81
Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Explains Government Resignation [INTERFAX]	82
Russian Commander Resigns From State Council [ITAR-TASS]	82
Supreme Soviet Presidium Holds Session With Party, Movement Leaders [Dushanbe Radio]	82
Constitutional Committee Statement Elaborates Concerns [Dushanbe Radio]	83
Defense Ministry Calls for Unity Among Military Formations [INTERFAX]	84
Russian Troops Remain Neutral After Government Quits [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Nov]	84
Russian Deputy Commander Announces Switch to Contract System [INTERFAX]	85

Uzbekistan

Tashkent Censors All Local, Moscow-Based Press [IZVESTIYA 7 Nov]	85
India Increases Credit Limit to \$10 Million [INTERFAX]	86

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Views Government's Goals, Karabakh, Military [INTERFAX]	87
President Reviews Year, Discusses 'Values' [Yerevan Radio]	88

Former Foreign Minister Urges Military Support for Karabakh	[Yerevan International]	89
Karabakh Leader Views Armenia's Policy on Nagorno-Karabakh	[Yerevan International]	89
Government To Ration Bread Starting 15 Nov	[INTERFAX]	89
'Thousands' Participate in Rally in Gyumri	[Radio Rossii]	89

Azerbaijan

Parliament Speaker: No Nuclear Weapons in Republic	[TURAN]	90
Elchibey Ready To Render Humanitarian Aid to Armenia	[INTERFAX]	90
Elchibey Congratulates Tatars on Adopting Constitution	[AZERINFORM]	90
Elchibey Meets With UN Representative; Mission Opens	[AZERINFORM]	91
IZVESTIYA Interviews Ex-President Mutalibov 'Hiding' in Russia	[12 Nov]	91

Georgia

Shevardnadze Visits Sukhumi To Study Abkhazia Situation	[INTERFAX]	92
Authorities Permit Russian Ship To Dock, Evacuate Servicemen	[ITAR-TASS]	93
Navy Seals Off Poti Port To Prevent Russian Departures	[ITAR-TASS]	93
Russian Delegation Arrives for Talks	[INTERFAX]	93
Defense Ministry Reports Quiet in Abkhazia	[INTERFAX]	93
Defense Council Names Armed Forces Commanders	[INTERFAX]	94
Rear Admiral Discusses Formation of Republic's Navy	[Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 20 Oct]	94
Shevardnadze Warns Against Hasty Removal of Russian Troops	[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 27 Oct]	94
Shevardnadze Speaks to Sciences Academy on Democracy Building	[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 10 Oct]	95

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Prime Minister Meets Local Leaders in Ethnic Russian Region	[BALTFAX]	115
Foreign Minister Says Russian Pullout Continues	[Stockholm Radio]	115
Government Initials Legal Treaty With Latvia, Lithuania	[BALTFAX]	115
Norway, Sweden, Denmark Back Government Effort To Join EC	[BALTFAX]	115
Union Baltic Bank To Freeze State Enterprise Accounts	[ETA NEWS BULLETIN]	115
Parliament Discusses New Radio, TV Governing Board	[Tallinn Radio]	116

Latvia

Foreign Minister Hopes Problems With Russia Temporary	[BALTFAX]	116
Explains Plans for Foreign Policy	[Riga Radio]	116
Views Citizenship Issue, Foreign Troops	[LETA]	117
Gorbunovs Reports on Results of Vilnius Baltic Council Session	[LETA]	117
Russian, Latvian Army Officers Discuss Troop Movement Rules	[BALTFAX]	118
Draft Decree Proposes Rescinding Troops' Accommodation Rights	[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Nov]	118

Lithuania

Landsbergis Warns of Potential Damage From Slow Western Aid	[BALTFAX]	118
Envoy Discusses Suspension of Russian Troop Pullout	[BALTFAX]	118
Foreign Minister on Russian Pullout, Borders, Embassies	[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]	119
Government To Pay Rubles for Russian Gas, Oil	[ELTA NEWS BULLETIN]	119
Minister Cites Priorities in Foreign Economic Policy	[BALTFAX]	119
Electoral Commission Orders Check of MPs' KGB Links	[BALTFAX]	119

Yeltsin Looks Forward to 'New Epoch' in Relations With Hungary

After expressing regret over Russia's role in the "tragic time" of the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary in his address to the Hungarian parliament yesterday, Russian President Yeltsin announced he is releasing all KGB and CPSU documents on the events so that "all the citizens of Russia and Hungary" will know "the full truth," according to ITAR-TASS. Yeltsin urged both countries to look toward the future. "The task is now different," he stressed, "both to restore normal relations and impart them a new dynamism." Pleased with the success of his talks with the Hungarian president and the signing of various cooperation agreements, Yeltsin declared in a news conference with the Hungarian prime minister "the start of a new epoch in relations between Hungary and Russia."

Yeltsin To Meet Parliament Presidium Before Congress

Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov told parliament that President Yeltsin will meet with Supreme Soviet Presidium members before the scheduled 1 December opening of the Congress of People's Deputies, ITAR-TASS reports. Khasbulatov did not say when the meeting would take place.

Parliament Rejects Yeltsin Amendments to Government Law; Shumeyko Objects

The Supreme Soviet has rejected amendments proposed by Yeltsin to a law on overall management of the government, according to Russian television. The law will probably now be forwarded to the Constitutional Court. In response, First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko declared that the law now is "unconstitutional" and said that it "contradicts the principle of separation of powers" and "makes it impossible for the government to work," INTERFAX reports. Citing voting irregularities by the Supreme Soviet, Shumeyko threatened to take the issue to the Constitutional Court and urged President Yeltsin not to sign the law, ITAR-TASS reports. The final vote on the law and its adoption is scheduled for tomorrow.

Nuclear Arms Being Removed From Northern Fleet Ships

OW1011114192 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 9 Nov 92

[From the "Utro" program]

[Excerpt] [Video shows "Akula" class submarine getting underway] [Correspondent] This multipurpose nuclear torpedo submarine was on a lengthy watch in the Arctic Ocean protecting the northern frontiers of Russia. As a matter of fact, there are no nuclear weapons on board this boat. The fact is that they are being removed from all ships of the Northern Fleet. During its voyage the sailors found several foreign ships sailing close to our shores. The watch that the 100 sailors maintain on board this boat is not easy and great courage and love for their vocation is probably needed to work in these cramped conditions. [video shows submarine on the surface, sailors at duty stations] [passage omitted]

Foiled Plutonium Sale to Iraq Reported

LD1111141592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 November 92 p 1

[K. Belyaninov report: "Iraq Seeks Plutonium in Bulgaria. Soviet Plutonium, It Appears"]

[Text] It was revealed a few days ago that the former Soviet Union still has a certain surplus of nuclear potential. A consignment of weapons-grade plutonium-239 weighing 44 kg was seized at the Sofia "Sheraton" Hotel on the night of 28 October. Attached to the consignment by way of covering documents were two assay certificates issued by Russia's "Izotop" Science and Production Association. According to the special services information, the plutonium was due to be shipped to Iraq.

Actually, the wooden box discovered in the Bulgarian capital contained only one-half of the consignment meant to be forwarded to the Near East. At the beginning of September German [as published] businessman Norman Derbyshire telephoned Robert Turp, former British military attache in Paris and Seoul and currently a successful arms dealer, and offered him 80 kg of weapons-grade plutonium. The value of the "commodity" at world prices was perfectly acceptable—\$80 million.

"I was offered a commission running into hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling," Turp stated in an interview with the British SUNDAY EXPRESS. "But I had no clue what plutonium-239 was."

The former military attache's ignorance was the cause of the deal's falling through. Turp appealed to specialists, who passed the plutonium disk on to the National Radiological Protection Board.

Interpol officials, who are now conducting an investigation, are convinced that the "Bulgarian deal" is one more confirmation of massive leaks of nuclear weapons components from the CIS republics.

"All this looks more like a bluff," Valeriy Nesterov, chief engineer of the "Izotop" Science and Production Association, believes. "Two years ago we did indeed deliver to Bulgaria 2,000 calibrating plutonium sources, designed to check gas analysis instruments produced within the CEMA framework. Production of the instruments was later ended, and the Bulgarians have repeatedly asked us to buy the sources back. But this is simply economically disadvantageous—their value, even allowing for today's inflation, does not exceed 500 rubles per item."

Moreover, Nesterov claims, the sources can be used only for their directly intended purpose.

Ecology Ministry Details Secret Nuclear Tests in Kazakhstan

PM1011125192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Oleg Stefashin: "Nuclear Explosions in Kazakhstan Were Carried Out in 27 Places"]

[Text] On the instructions of the government, the Kazakh Ministry of Ecology and Biological Resources has collected information, formerly thoroughly concealed, on so-called one-shot nuclear weapons tests carried out outside the Semipalatinsk test site.

It turns out that 38 nuclear explosions of differing yields were carried out at 27 different places over the years. Atyrau Oblast was used most actively for these purposes; in all 17 tests of mass destruction weapons were carried out there. Eight nuclear charges were exploded at test sites in the Urals area, and the rest in Aktyubinsk, Akhmolinsk, Mangistau, and South Kazakhstan Oblasts. In the opinion of staff of the Ministry of Ecology and Biological Resources, the data they have compiled throws light on the scale of the damage inflicted on the republic by nuclear weapons tests, and will also make it possible to take more effective measures for the ecological protection of Kazakhstan's population and environment.

'Tentative' Draft Agenda for CIS Council

LD1211102492 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0914
GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—An *ITAR-TASS* correspondent has learned from sources in the Russian Government that the draft agenda for a meeting of the CIS council of heads of government due to take place in Moscow on Friday features 18 items:

1. On the CIS's draft charter.
2. On the mutual recognition of the CIS member-states' visas.
3. On the statutes of the inter-state television and radio broadcasting company.
4. On financing measures envisaged by the guidelines of the inter-state comprehensive medico-social programme for the protection of the health and rehabilitation of soldiers-internationalists and their family members and the provision of the guaranteed privileges to soldiers-internationalists.
5. On an inter-state programme for aid to the population of areas that suffered as a result of armed conflicts, settlers and refugees.
6. On the provision about the inter-state space council and on the procedure for financing joint space exploration efforts.
7. On cooperation in the field of plant quarantine.
8. On organising information interaction in the CIS joint Armed Forces and in the armed forces of the states which are parties to the agreement.
9. On organising work on inter-state standardisation of armaments and military equipment.
10. On military personnel training.
11. On the sizes and the procedure for contributing shares of the common stock to form a coordinating service of the council of border troops commanders.
12. On setting up a council for labour, migration and the social protection of the population of the CIS member-states.
13. On the provision on an inter-state coordinating council for scientific-technical information and the provision on a fund for the development of inter-state scientific-technical information exchange.
14. On ensuring the protection of state secrecy.
15. On regulating the inter-state securities market.
16. On extending the term for the operation of the regulations on the railway transport council of the CIS member-states.

17. On the pattern of a certificate of the council of heads of state and the council of heads of government and on the regulations for their functioning.

18. On the terms and place of holding the next meeting of the council of heads of government.

The aforementioned sources said this list is of a tentative nature. It is planned to be discussed by the CIS foreign ministers today and will be finally endorsed by the heads of government at the beginning of their meeting on November 13.

CIS Foreign Ministers Meet in Moscow

LD1211101992 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 0909
GMT 12 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—A conference of the CIS foreign ministers has just opened in the mansion of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Attending are plenipotentiary representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

The conference was opened by Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, the commander-in-chief of the CIS joint Armed Forces, and representatives of the coordinating service of the CIS council of border troops commanders and the railway transport council are also attending the meeting.

Participants will discuss the agenda for a meeting of the CIS heads of government opening on Friday. The agenda features 18 items of which the key one is the issue of the CIS's draft charter.

Shaposhnikov Wants Russia-Ukraine Nuclear Summit

OW1211131392 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1110
GMT 12 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Marshal Shaposhnikov has spoken for a Russian-Ukrainian summit to discuss nuclear weapons in Ukrainian territory. He said Russia is the only country that should have such weapons, therefore Moscow and Kiev must reach a compromise.

The longer Ukraine has nuclear weapons without appropriate control, the marshal said, the greater the threat of various incidents related to their safety. The current situation is very dangerous, primarily for Ukraine, and it should realize that. According to the marshal, Ukraine does not have the experts who could properly control

nuclear weapons. In this matter Moscow and Kiev should not act like they did in the case of the Black Sea fleet.

The marshal is attending a meeting of the foreign ministers of CIS countries in Moscow who are discussing the CIS charter as well as mutual recognition of visas, the formation of an international TV company, the training of officers etc. Mr. Shaposhnikov believes that the adoption of the charter is a cornerstone of the future of the CIS.

The marshal said that there are no nuclear weapons in the conflict zones in Russia. When the Chechen president Dudaev says something to this end, he exaggerates, the commander stressed.

Commander on Russian Troop Withdrawal From Baltics

PM1111155592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General F. Melnichuk, first deputy commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, by K. Markaryan in Riga; date not given: "Withdrawal of Troops From the Baltic. Gen. Melnichuk Does Not Rule Out Use of Weapons."]

[Text] This year has seen the commanding officer of the former Baltic Military District changed three times. Colonel General F. Kuzmin was removed for supporting the putschists; Colonel General V. Mironov was recalled to Moscow as first deputy defense minister; and Colonel General Mayorov is still getting used to the situation. But the problems of the Russian Army in the Baltics remain, despite Boris Yeltsin's recent directive suspending the withdrawal of troops. The following interview with Lieutenant General F. Melnichuk, first deputy commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, is about these problems.

[Markaryan] Fedor Ivanovich, back in early October the Coordinating Council of Officers' Assemblies and Representatives of All Categories of Troops and All Branches of the Russian Army in the Baltics proposed that a moratorium be introduced on the withdrawal of troops from the Baltics. Does this mean that Moscow heeded this?

[Melnichuk] Undoubtedly, the Coordinating Council's statement played its part. But the decision on the moratorium was made when the activity of officers' assemblies was abolished by order of the minister of defense. Let me stress that the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic countries has not been halted, but suspended. At the same time, after talks at the intergovernmental level, the Russian side intended to begin withdrawing troops from the Baltics only after the withdrawal of the Western, Northern, and Southern Groups from other countries had been completed. But at the request of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian governments, we have nevertheless begun withdrawing subunits of the Northwestern Group of Forces also. At the same time we

proposed that the Baltic countries offer us at least some help. But all the expenses once again fell on the shoulders of Russia, which finds it difficult on its own. Units are being withdrawn to places devoid of all facilities. In Leningrad Oblast, for example, half a barracks has been assigned to a whole brigade. And people have arrived with their families—there are 250 children alone. It is 50 km to the nearest school...

[Markaryan] So was this a withdrawal of troops or a flight?

[Voronin] No, it is not a flight. But if only we knew that there were at least some facilities ready in the new places. Help is needed in the construction of housing. But Latvia and Estonia categorically refuse this. Servicemen in Lithuania have at least been allowed to privatize their own apartments, so that they can sell them and acquire housing somewhere in Russia. My family, too, is facing a housing problem; you see, the Latvian Government has declared servicemen's apartments official property.

The position of the Latvian and Estonian sides is surprising. While advocating the soonest possible withdrawal of troops, they themselves are holding up this process by forbidding the personnel of subunits to be replenished. We are left with fewer and fewer soldiers. In some units strength level is down to 36 percent. The last servicemen are to be demobilized in spring...

[Markaryan] Only officers will remain? And what about military equipment, shells, and mines which, according to the rules, are supposed to be loaded only by hand?

[Melnichuk] The officers corps will have to see to this. It will take us until the end of 1995 to cope with the loading work by our own efforts.

[Markaryan] Does all this mean that the Northwestern Group of Forces is no longer combat effective?

[Melnichuk] This must be partly admitted. We already find it difficult to perform the global operational tasks in the defense of the Western borders which we have been set.

[Markaryan] But other problems exist, too. The theft of weapons from military units and the seizure of military facilities are continuing. And after all, large arsenals are concentrated near Riga...

[Melnichuk] Yes, there are two large munitions storehouses in the Riga region. At the moment they are securely guarded: We have transferred additional forces there. But these storehouses are attracting increasing interest. The same people are being noticed along the outer fence—obviously they are studying the approaches to the arsenals...

The most terrible thing is the fact that, through the fault of some regional rulers, especially in Latvia and Estonia, various facilities are beginning to be seized. If the seizures go on, we will reach the point of having to use weapons. This is already becoming imminent, although

we have been carrying out explanatory work among personnel in recent months. But sometimes simply humiliating situations arise.

How much can the patience of armed men be tested?

Baltic Leaders Back Talks on Russian Withdrawal

WS1011130092 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1059 GMT 9 Nov 92

["Baltic States' Common Standpoint: Unconditional Russia's Troop Withdrawal"—ETA NEWS BULLETIN headline; from 7 November POSTIMEES p 1]

[Text] Monday, November 9—Leaders of the Baltic States Vytautas Landsbergis, Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Lennart Meri expressed their approval over Russia's president Yeltsin's suggestion to hold negotiations on the burning issue of troop withdrawal from the Baltic territory. All three presidents were content with the work and results of the Baltic States Council.

Estonia's President Lennart Meri told the news conference that Russian diplomats are not right when claiming that the Baltics have not agreed with Russia on tactical points—flexible tactics are always followed at negotiations. According to Meri, the aim of the Baltic States is to turn the Baltic Sea region into a peaceful part of earth which probably is the aim of Russia as well.

Further political cooperation of the Baltic States was discussed at the session. Meri stressed that development of economic relations will have to support the political cooperation.

Meri, Landsbergis and Gorbunovs signed an application to heads of CSCE states, NATO secretary general, CE [Council of Europe] secretary general, chairman of Euro-parliament, head of the Commission of European Communities and president of the North Atlantic Assembly. They sent a letter to UNO Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

Yegorov, Others on Problems of Baltic Fleet

LD1111110192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 0458 GMT on 11 Nov 92 carries a four-minute feature within the "Utro" program on problems facing the Russian Navy. Citing the recent fire on board a nuclear powered submarine in the Northern Fleet and its being extinguished without radioactive contamination, the announcer goes on to say that the Command of the Pacific Fleet is concerned at the lack of tobacco available to crews on long voyages and is trying to address the issue by means of barter deals. He then introduces a video report by correspondent Aleksandr Ostrovskiy.

The report starts by showing Russian seamen being interviewed in their quarters. One says: "We arrive, and we see that no one needs us here."

The report then shows V. Yegorov, commander of the Baltic Fleet, being interviewed. Yegorov says: "The level of work of our delegations is absolutely not up to the level of work of delegations which the Baltic states have demonstrated." The video then cuts to show an unidentified seamen, who says: "There isn't even a pier here."

The video cuts to show an officer being interviewed. At the bottom right of the screen the words "Radar studio" are shown. An officer is heard to say: "...Practically on the verge of hunger. People are returning their last bottles, selling their possessions, and are leaving for Russia on our military aircraft to buy goods there." The video cuts again to show seamen being interviewed, one of whom says: "Apartments, moorings, buildings, installations, and so on, we are simply leaving them." Another says: "Going for a song."

The announcer says: "The problems of the withdrawal of the vessels and units of the Russian Armed Forces from the Baltic countries are in a kind of tangle. It is not easy away from home and, at home, no one is waiting. The seamen, the Air Force, the border troops, and shore units of the Baltic Fleet are the first to reap the fruits of hasty decisions." The video cuts to show a vessel named *Bespokoynyy* [Restlessness] on its side. "For this reason alone, some units are refusing to carry out orders on redeployment. The president of Russia has confirmed that the final timescale for withdrawal will remain the same. But on the previous terms? This can be resolved only around the negotiating table."

The video shows Commander Yegorov, who says: "I would like to ask the people who have blocked a decision on our property in the Baltic—which is assessed by various specialists at between 48 billion and 100 billion rubles in the prices of 1984. No decision has been made on this property, although we did some very serious studies, and proposals were reported to the center; but they were blocked. For that money it would have been possible to build not just housing, but also a whole complex of infrastructure for basing the fleet in new deployment areas. I've just been in (Siausi) division and I have just left Yuzhnaya Gavan. The next day I met a rear services chief of the Polish flotilla, and he told me that at night Polish trucks arrived and started to rob what our motor-launch men had left there. This takes place in any garrison as soon as our unit leaves." The video cuts to show semisubmerged vessels along a shore.

The announcer continues: "The commander has tried on many occasions to resolve the fleet's problems, using the metal of old vessels, selling far-from-new motor launches, hardware, and the ammunition for it to the Lithuanian Regional Protection Ministry [Ministerstvo Okhrazy Kraya Litvy] to fit out housing in Kaliningrad

oblast. The local authorities are trying to help, but the Russian State Property Committee is again failing the Baltic seamen.

"Russia is losing not only what it has accumulated over many years in the Baltic, but is risking the loss of Peter's fleet. The window on Europe once hewn by Peter, is now a porthole. Are we giving up our moorings on equal terms?"

The video shows an interview with V. Komoyedov, commander of the Baltic Squadron, by correspondent Ostrovskiy. Komoyedov says: "NATO bloc vessels remain the same in terms of numbers, and are improving in terms of quality. We are losing the initiative in all issues—relating first and foremost to the quality of the fleet and the basing system, and its application." Ostrovskiy asks: "Could it happen that in two, three, or five years the Baltic Fleet will cease to exist?" to which Komoyedov responds: "I think that it is necessary to do everything to ensure that the Baltic Fleet remains."

Baltic States Agree on Sea Deliveries of Fuel

*LD1111070192 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1400 GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Excerpt] The energy ministers of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have reached agreement on receiving by sea supplies of fuel oil, gasoline, and diesel fuel. Starting on 1 December, the port of Klaipeda will start receiving fuel supplied by sea for Estonia. Preparatory work is also going on in Klaipeda harbor for [word indistinct] station (?flowing through) supplementary pipes. Ventspils harbor will be ready for fuel destined for Estonia on 1 January. [passage omitted]

NATO Said To Claim 'Permanent Presence' in Black Sea

PM1111101992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 92 p 2

[Captain Second Rank Vladimir Pasyakin report: "They Have Left the Black Sea"]

[Text] As already reported, a detachment of ships from eight NATO countries' naval forces has visited the Black Sea. The official reason for the NATO warship detachment's port call was the Bulgarian Navy Command's invitation to participate in joint exercises.

The NATO squadron's port call attracted the attention of the Black Sea Fleet's sailors, especially since, back on 7 October, the Georgian leadership requested the North Atlantic alliance to render assistance in settling the conflict in Abkhazia. However, the NATO squadron, which left the Black Sea on 5 November, did not approach the Caucasian shores.

In the opinion of Captain First Rank Yuriy Moldovanov, a Black Sea Fleet intelligence officer, the NATO military leadership's desire to extend its naval forces' area of operations is obvious. New port calls by their

ships are still possible this month, admittedly one at a time. This is a claim for a permanent presence of NATO forces in the Black Sea.

ITAR-TASS Reviews 11 November Press

*LD1111064292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0551
GMT 11 Nov 92*

[“Press Review”—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Newspapers highlight today the official visit of President Yeltsin to Britain, which ended on November 10.

“Boris Yeltsin proclaimed the end of confrontation,” NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes. “The visit confirmed once again that the two countries would continue to pursue a policy of rapprochement and cooperation not only in bilateral relations, but also in the international arena.” Assessing the visit, TRUD points out that it will give a new impetus to relations between the two countries and will lead to a dramatic growth of contacts in all spheres. “The president’s proposals on establishing allied relations between Russia and the West, on putting an end once and for all to military confrontation actually laid the foundation of a new world setup of the post-communist epoch. Those proposals are sure to be in the centre of world politics for years ahead,” TRUD writes. “The Russian president produced a strong impression on British legislators,” KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes, commenting on Yeltsin’s speech in parliament.

According to Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, the economic situation in Russia is complicated, and this is an “obvious fact”. At the same time, he said in a TRUD interview that “it has not become more critical than a year ago, and it is also a fact... a year ago we were in a deadlock, and the most important accomplishment of the present government is that it took the country out of the deadlock—the deadlock of hesitant steps, a too long search for a ‘third way’, of the adoption of various programmes of ‘emergency measures’ aimed at stabilising the economy, which often contradicted each other... we have done much of what we intended to do and, first and foremost, we have changed the socio-economic system. Now it is a different country despite all problems facing Russia. The main goal we set for ourselves was to set in motion our locomotive standing on a rusty side-track. And we have accomplished it.” Shokhin’s forecast for the future is “favourable and moderately optimistic”.

“Every honest and impartial person will agree that we have reached the limit by sharply upsetting the economic relations with Russia and other former Union republics, which took decades and even centuries to be formed, by making millions of people lose any interest in the final results of their work, in suppressing the initiative of all—workers, farmers, engineers, senior executives and so on,” Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said in a PRAVDA interview. It is difficult and next to impossible to get out of this deadlock in conditions of

such a disastrous economic situation, but this is the only way, Kuchma continued. Ukraine should get out of it, but without a "shock therapy". Touching upon Ukraine's foreign policy, he stressed that "independence starts not only with setting things in order in the domestic sphere, but also with the proper handling of foreign affairs."

Former General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA that he intended to change the course of the Soviet Union's development in ten years. The USSR ex-president said that, when starting the reform policy, he "regarded it as his task to make socio-economic problems less acute on the first stage." According to Gorbachev, the resistance of the apparatus began to be felt in 1987, because the reform was destroying the system, and, like any other system, it began to defend itself.

Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin believes there are good prospects for stepping up anti-crime struggle and consolidating public order. He explained in a PRAVDA interview that "the Interior Ministry agencies are beginning to feel more confident, because they feel the support of legislators, the press and, which is most important, of the people."

12 November Press

LD1211070292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0618
GMT 12 Nov 92

[“Press Review”—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—The official visit of the Russian president to Hungary is headlined by all newspapers on Thursday.

The “NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA” views the fact that the first to meet Boris Yeltsin upon arrival was Hungarian President Arpad Goncz as a sign of great importance the Hungarians attached to the visit. According to the protocol Yeltsin was to be met by the prime minister. The newspaper believes the most important agreement reached during the visit was the “zero option” regarding the Russian troops pullout, when the cost of the property remaining after the troops is equal to the compensation for ecological damage done by them.

The “TRUD” and “KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA” newspapers pay special attention to the declaration on principles of cooperation between Russia and Hungary on providing for minorities rights signed by Yeltsin and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev called the document “a

contribution to all-European efforts in counterbalancing aggressive nationalism, various types of ethnic witch-hunt”.

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Kozyrev meant, first and foremost, “the rights of the Russian-speaking minority in the Baltic states”. Quoting various observers the daily stresses that during his visit to Great Britain and Hungary Yeltsin had more than once said that Russia had enough powers to oppose those who want to reverse history.

Practically all disputed issues in Russian-Hungarian relations were solved in one day, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA notes. “Our countries guided by common sense are now turning to each other again”, it added.

The military KRSNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper devoted most of attention to the results of Yeltsin's visit to Great Britain and especially to his statement that Russian relations with the West should develop from partnership to allied ties. The newspaper reminds Yeltsin's words that this does not mean a closed union or a military bloc. The talk is about trust and mutual understanding the level of which can be considerably increased, it said.

The “PRAVDA” daily writes about “aggressiveness of the tone, words and the very figure of the president” in Great Britain and arrives to a conclusion that Yeltsin was “probing a possible Western reaction to the introduction of a state of emergency (in Russia)”.

Another leading topic is the situation in the zone of Ossetian-Ingush conflict. Newspapers write about the two-hour long meeting of acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar with Ingush public which took place on Wednesday in Nazran, the capital of Ingushetiya. The meeting was also attended by representatives of Chechnya, the president of which threatened war to Russia if its troops are not withdrawn from the territories he claimed to belong to Chechnya.

One of the results of the meeting is that it was agreed to pull a Russian tank force 5-10 kilometres away from the Chechen border. TRUD quotes Gaydar in this connection as saying that the way to a political solution of the crisis will be long and complicated. But the only thing, he hopes, is that it will not be a bloody way any longer.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA comments on the press conference of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk in Kiev at which he spoke about the results of his work. The newspaper says that the main thing Kravchuk has done is that he gained independence for Ukraine by a peaceful means.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg, in which he criticises all ruling bodies in the country, the parliament, the government and the president.

Further on Yeltsin's Visit to Great Britain**Yeltsin Addresses Parliament**

LD1011232792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1720 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Address by President Boris Yeltsin to the British Parliament in London on 10 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Lord Chancellor, esteemed Mrs. Speaker, esteemed members of the British Parliament, ladies and gentlemen:

I consider it a great honor for the Russian president to speak in the Royal Gallery of the Palace of Westminster. Here, in the British Parliament, which has a history many centuries old, I represent one of the world's youngest democracies, namely democratic and free Russia.

I regard this symbolic fact as clear evidence that the community of states has taken into its family the reborn Russian state. The cold war's icebergs are thawing rapidly; undoubtedly, they will soon disappear forever. Unprecedented horizons of cooperation are opening before mankind. A unique opportunity has emerged to affirm mutual respect, trust, equal partnership, and allied ties forever in relations between Russia and Great Britain. The supreme calling of politicians of my generation is to make this opportunity a reality. I believe that we will be able to bequeath to our children and grandchildren a safer and happier life in the 21st Century.

Prime Minister Major and I signed a treaty on the principles of relations between our states yesterday. It clearly and solemnly declares that the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will maintain relations of peace and friendship. These simple, calm, and confident words are finally becoming a powerful spur to our common work after being a dream for many years. From this lofty platform, I state authoritatively to you, members of the British Parliament and all British citizens, that we are filled with the goodwill and sincere desire to carry out the obligations we have undertaken rigorously.

It is especially significant that the document ushering in a new era in Russian-British relations is being signed in London. Karamzin, the great Russian historian, wrote that this city was the first harbor in the entire world. Today, Russia and Britain are embarking, as it were, from London on a joint voyage around this world. May it be successful and justify our hopes.

I am convinced that all the positive experience of cooperation that has been accumulated in previous centuries will prove useful to us. The Russian people feel deep respect for the outstanding contribution of your country—which has been a real laboratory of economic systems and discoveries—to the development of world civilization. We highly regard Great Britain's role in resolving today's key world policy issues, including

European and international security, settling conflicts throughout the world, and global problems.

Speaking in the most authoritative organ of state power in Great Britain, I consider it my duty to express sincere gratitude for the support which your country has given—especially in August last year—and is giving today in support of Russian reforms. When meeting Britons, I am always convinced of the sincerity of your sympathy for the fate of our country and its people in this period. This feeling was manifested particularly clearly in the alarming days in Moscow in August 1991. The firm and resolute line adopted by Great Britain and by Prime Minister Major in support of the forces of democracy played a noble and important role. I must say not only the telephone call from Mr. Major but also from Mrs. Thatcher on 19 August last year were of particular importance for us. I am grateful to you.

The failure of the August plot marked the end of the most ruthless and bloody regime in Russia's centuries-old history. Foundations which seemed unshakeable collapsed. Communism collapsed. The putschists will soon be put on trial. They will be accompanied on the stand by the system which warped and tormented our poor country for decades.

The monstrous benighting of millions of Russians which lasted for so many decades is gradually disappearing into the past. The long-suffering country is returning to the main road of developing civilization. Russia is repudiating everything that formed the essence of the former regime, including its lies and violence, its hypocritical and aggressive policy toward other countries, and its mental and physical terror toward its own people when millions of people died. Russia chooses freedom from now on and—I firmly assure you—forever.

We are distinctly aware that the eyes of the whole world are on our country today, eyes filled with sympathy and support for people who are transforming their country and themselves. However, there is also alarm. Many wonder whether Russia will be able to cope with enormously complex tasks, cross the steep pass, and overcome its very deep crisis. The transition to democracy and a market economy has proved extremely difficult for this unique country and these unique reforms. The wounds inflicted on the country by the communist dictatorship were too deep. Too much time was lost. Our main task today is to defend Russian reforms and avert the adventurist attempts of antireformist forces.

It must be openly admitted that we have forces interested in a revanchist coup, including: the remnants of the party and state elite who do not want to reconcile themselves to losing their positions; militant nationalists who are rearing their heads; economic managers who do not and cannot work under the new economic market conditions; and political adventurers who, alas, always emerge at turning points in the life of any society.

All of these forces have become more active lately, trying to stage an open and mass attack and to profit from the

Russian citizens' difficulties. However, I, as president, am sure that such plans are not fated to be realized. They are opposed by the majority of Russians, the overwhelming majority. People understand the inevitability of the difficulties of the transitional period and are not giving way to panic and despair. We were told that the Russian people would rise up in February, in March, in April, in May, in July, and in October, but this did not happen. The Russian people bore up; the Russian people are calmer today than they were 10 months ago.

The political hullabaloo being whipped up in the country is nothing more than a shadowy theater in which the ghosts of the past are giving their farewell performance. [applause]

However, it is most important that I stress that we are keeping a strict eye on the situation in the country with regard to revanche and reaction. I, the president of a country of 150,000,000 who was elected by the people, can assure you firmly of this. [applause]

As the great Shakespeare wrote: No matter what sorrows afflict the soul, the times force us to be firm.

The situation in Russia's North Ossetian and Ingush republics was sharply exacerbated at the end of October. Emergency measures were taken to normalize the situation; today, it has been normalized. I believe that the international community also regards these events and our actions with understanding. The sad experience of interethnic conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet Union shows that timidity and delay in making decisions allows things to get out of hand and goes against the interests of the peaceful population.

One of Russia's central problems is instability, the need for a well-adjusted balance between legislative, executive, and legal institutions. Growing pains and crises in the interactions between them have today become a serious obstacle to our reforms. We are intensively seeking ways to resolve this problem, arising from Russia's unique conditions. A new Russian constitution will be adopted soon, and I am sure that it will stabilize Russia's democratic processes.

The experience of British democracy, which is one of the world's oldest, evokes great interest and respect in our country. That great Russian reformer, the Emperor Peter I, Peter the Great, when present here at a session of the British Parliament cried out with delight: What joy to listen to subjects openly speaking the truth to their Lord. That is what must be learned from the English, both then and today. [applause]

I will be honest: My fellow countrymen have learned a lot recently. What I find myself hearing on trips around the country and reading in the papers far transcends what Peter the Great heard in your Parliament! Russians have lost their fear of the big bosses, including the president! There's just one little thing left, as the saying goes: We still have to learn everything else!

One of the indispensable conditions for the healthy functioning of a democratic society is a media that is independent, strong, and legally protected and which operates within the law. The media is frequently called the fourth estate. After many decades of hardline ideological control and shameless and lying propaganda, a free press has finally emerged in Russia. It strives to reflect various interests and views in society and is making a considerable contribution to people's intellectual liberation and the affirmation of democratic values. I consider it my state duty as president to continue to protect the press in Russia which operates on the basis of the principles of freedom and responsibility. Difficult though it may be, I shall never go back on that, although they may criticize me a lot.

Our own experience has shown that the true value of political freedoms can only be realized under free economic activity and enterprise. The main battlefield for the principles of democracy in our country lies precisely in the economic sphere. Nobody has ever had to solve the problems of transition from an economic system organized along military lines and highly centralized into one which is based on the market methods and the principles of free enterprise on such a large scale and in such a short period. We must follow a path of difficult and sometimes unpopular decisions, especially this year. However, there is no alternative to this. There is no alternative to releasing the creative energy, initiative, the spirit of enterprise, the individual interest of the people. There is no alternative to the self-regulating and open economy, free from administrative dictate. There is no alternative to the economy becoming an organic part of the whole European and universal economy. The Russian Government has a clear strategy for the transition to the system of market relations and free enterprise and will be consistently implementing it.

Indeed, we cannot avoid making mistakes. We are not always consistent. We do not succeed in everything. We are young democrats, not with regard to the age of the individuals; however, at least there is no one in the government older than the president. [laughter]

Every week, every day our country is literally stubbornly forcing its way through the fossils of the past to carry out the economic transformations. Despite the hysterics of the opponents of reform, Russia will not stop and will not turn back, and I tell you that as president of Russia. [applause]

This is not just what the president wants, it is what the citizens of the whole of Russia want. It is the position of the world community, of our neighboring and distant friends who are today giving Russia invaluable support, and Great Britain is among these. Finally, it is what is demanded by history, which predetermined the fundamental changes taking place today in international relations.

After the times of confrontation, things are difficult not only for Russia. Almost all developed countries are

experiencing a difficult phase, and you have difficulties as well. However, the first bricks have been laid in the building of a new world structure. The leading states are demonstrating unprecedented cooperation in establishing peace, security, and stability. We value highly the open and constant dialogue between Moscow and the world's main political centers on key international problems. This is a real result of our practical cooperation. I am convinced that the level of mutual understanding and trust achieved is far from its limits. I consider that today the time has come to raise the question of changing the nature of Russia's relations with the West from relations between partners to relations between allies. We are no longer potential opponents, no longer potential enemies, we are friends, and we must be allies in this world.

Of course, we are not talking about some sort of closed alliance and certainly not about creating a military bloc. No. We have already moved away from that. What I have in mind is, first of all, trust and mutual understanding, the level of which could be raised considerably, as was shown by yesterday's talks. Having an alliance relationship implies the final elimination of military confrontation, the final elimination. I state this firmly and confidently.

A reliable system has already been set up for mutual monitoring [kontrol] of what are known as the armored fists. There is a treaty on limiting armed forces in Europe, the open skies regime, national means of observation. All this is a firm bridle restraining the military machine both in the West and in the East, and I think that in the future the distinction between West and East will simply not exist.

I signed a decree a few days ago extending until 1 July next year the year-long moratorium on nuclear testing which Russia declared in October last year.

I want to stress that this moratorium can be extended in the future, if the appropriate conditions are there for this. It is illogical to destroy nuclear warheads while at the same time testing new nuclear weaponry. I hope that nuclear tests will be halted by all countries. The first step has been taken. France and the United States have stopped them.

Of course, dismantling the nuclear arsenal will take several years. For the foreseeable future, nuclear weapons will, to all appearances, remain an important factor in international politics, and we in this sense respect and view the British position with understanding. This places a parallel task before us: Not to allow the spread of nuclear missile weaponry. This is the most important thing. Here, much depends on the positions and the agreed actions of these nuclear powers. Practically the whole potential of expertise and the most modern military technologies and materials fall precisely to them. The quicker we eliminate the rudiments of confrontational thinking, the more effective our cooperation will become and the more reliable control over the nuclear

and military technical potential will be. We have already at two factories—Chelyabinsk-65 and Arzams-16—this is what these closed towns were always called—and we now invite anyone who wishes to visit them. They are destroying the strategic nuclear forces, warheads, and missiles.

Here, we pose the question more widely. What is needed is political control over the military establishment as a whole. In the final analysis, the threat to the security of Europe and the world as a whole comes not from the weapons, as such, but from the political regime which has its hands on the weapons. We are grateful to you for giving us the opportunity to represent Great Britain in the aggressive country of Iraq. [applause]

In the final analysis, the threat to the security of Europe comes precisely from the countries which today threaten peace and security. In this regard, we should be alert together.

Mighty military machines were created in all the developed countries during the confrontational years, subordinating to themselves a very considerable proportion of the economy. This is one of the most important problems for Russia. Practically 50 percent of Russia's industry worked for the military industry. We reduced the output of military equipment and weapons by 68 percent and reduced the military budget by 18 percent this year. That is impressive. [applause]

Strict controls over the military sphere are being established in our country. The Defense Ministry, the Security Ministry—the former KGB—the Interior Ministry, the foreign intelligence service, and even the Foreign Ministry are openly subordinate to the president and sincerely reliable. I look at Foreign Minister Kozyrev; Defense Minister Grachev is here, too. Yesterday, they signed an agreement on military cooperation, an agreement without precedent in three, four, or five decades, an unprecedented agreement. It was signed yesterday in the presence of the Russian president and the British prime minister. [applause]

The demilitarization of industry, science, and all fields of Russian life has become a practical task. I have said that the amount allocated to all these spheres has been sharply reduced this year. At the same time, the dismantling of such a gigantic military mechanism requires considerable effort, for millions of people are being left without work, and we have to think about this too. I am grateful to the British leadership, which is helping financially with the transportation and destruction of Russia's strategic nuclear weapons.

We do not have the right not to support the millions of people connected to the military-industrial complex, when a cruel turning point is occurring in their lives. It is unjustified to destroy modern production which may be changed over to civilian purposes. Russia has such a state conversion program, it is in action, it is carrying things out, it is working.

Another major problem which I want to mention: Our country lived through the tragedy of mass repressions, unprecedented state arbitrary rule in the area of human rights and the rights of whole peoples. It lost many millions in the civil war which continued for almost the whole of communist history from 1917. Life itself has taught us to be particularly sensitive to the problems of human rights. In this area, we firmly adhere to the principle of the priority of international law over national law, which we refused to do for decades, and we intend to actively carry it out in life. It is precisely from here, from Westminster, that the decisive voice in support of the rights of the individual always rang out. I hope that this principled line by the British parliamentarians and the whole world community will be continued in regard to the rights of ethnic minorities as well. This is significant for us, a federal state which contains 19 sovereign republics and 130 nations and nationalities.

Unfortunately, there is much in this field that causes concern. I am speaking first of all of the danger of national chauvinism raised to the rank of state policy. This danger is being felt in European countries which, it seemed, had rid themselves of this evil forever after World War II and the Nuremberg trials. It is also making itself felt in the new states that have arisen on the ruins of the former union.

Not all the mines laid in the past age of confrontation have been rendered harmless, and when these mines explode they cause incalculable suffering to many thousands—and even millions—of people. I refer not only to the so-called hot spots in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, Tajikistan, and Yugoslavia; I speak of the whole of Europe, of that misfortune which has already crossed its threshold. Let us be vigilant so as not to commit once again the mistakes already made in the first half of the 20th Century. Let us be decisive in defending the democratic values which have been bestowed on mankind precisely by Europe and, in particular, by Great Britain.

In conclusion, I would like to touch on one delicate matter: In speeches by certain political leaders, the thesis of the West's victory in the cold war can often be heard. This touches on the sensitive strings of consciousness of whole peoples; a new chill of alienation blows from this. [applause]

We all remember well that the frontline of the cold war did not coincide with the geographical borders between states. It passed through the hearts and destinies of people both in the West and in the East. The victors in this war were all those who opposed totalitarianism and who defended democracy. The whole of humanity won the cold war. This is our common victory.

I remember—I was just a schoolboy at the time—how Churchill was condemned for his Fulton speech. However, he, a prophet of genius, was right. In the end, communism did collapse. Speaking at Fulton in 1946, and addressing the United States, he said—these are his words: If we are guided in our actions exclusively by the

UN Charter, if we progress without having designs on anybody's territory or on anybody's wealth, if we do not attempt to restrict the freedom of thought in any way, and finally, if all the British moral and material forces and convictions are solidly united with yours in a fraternal alliance, the road to the future will be bright and secure not only for us but also for everybody not only now but also for centuries ahead. [applause]

I am convinced that the moment has come at last when Great Britain is perfectly entitled to address those words to Russia. Russia is ready for this.

Thank you.

Yeltsin's Opening Remarks at News Conference

LD1111021892 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2115 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] London, 10 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin held a news conference here today during which he summed up his official visit to Great Britain. In his introductory address, he said:

Esteemed journalists,

Representatives of the mass media,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I do not think there is any need for me to enumerate the treaties and agreements we signed during this visit, for you are already very familiar with them. This is the first treaty on relations Great Britain and Russia have signed in 226 years, certainly raising us to a completely new level of relations.

Britain kept the communist Soviet Union in political quarantine—note that phrase, otherwise you will forget it later. History has shown that that was quite right. You remember Churchill's Fulton speech. He was right to object to communism. Those of us here from Russia were raised for decades to believe that that was the start of the cold war. There is no more communism in Russia today. We listened to the great prophet Churchill and put it into practice in Russia. We are ready to learn democracy from Europe; we are ready to learn democracy from Great Britain.

There were many meetings in less than two days, including talks with Prime Minister Major—one-to-one talks and with delegations—and the meeting in Parliament today. I am very flattered by the fact that Russia's first president was granted the opportunity to address the joint session of the British Parliament, one of Europe's oldest and most ancient democratic institutions. How this came about is not for me to judge but for you to judge.

We must now live with Great Britain and defend ourselves together. We have common values: freedom, democracy, human rights, and freedom of the press—and not only of the press but also of the mass media,

which we in Russia are trying hard to defend resolutely although not without difficulty—despite the fact that it criticizes the president.

Of course, we and Great Britain have common enemies. What are they? Totalitarianism, nationalism, violence, and neofascism in any form are our common enemies.

Things are more difficult today for Russia than they are for Great Britain and for everyone in Europe. We have been cut off from the general flow of European civilization for over half a century. That is our tragedy. That is Russia's tragedy. Of course, we need support today, but not the support that one begs for with outstretched hands. No. We need the support that you need. I formed the impression that you understand this during talks with Mr. Major and ministers. This is very important.

There were no issues that, as it were, separated us, issues that would set up any barriers between us. Spending many hours together and with our delegations, we have been very calmly discussing common problems and common strategies to solve these problems. I am satisfied with these talks. If only we could have such talks with other countries, too. We have no islands or territories in dispute. We have common principles that we must defend.

In addition to common enemies like totalitarianism, we have common enemies in countries which we should watch closely, including extremist Iraq and others. Today's Russia is defending the interests of Great Britain in Iraq. In 100 years of history, this is an improbable step, but this is a fact.

Naturally, Russia needs support today. Times are hard for the people. This support should not be too slow in coming, it should not be selfish. I want to remind you of the fateful mistake that Europe, England included, made in 1917. At that time, they manifested selfishness; at that time, they were mistaken. Do not make the same mistake today. The situation is quite different. Russian democracy remains fragile. We do not have stable, reliable institutions of power. A great deal depends—I apologize and please do not think it is a lack of modesty—on the president, on his authority among the people. This is because he has been elected by the whole people—and in Russia that is 150,000,000 people. I will remind those of you who are not aware of that. With regard to the press, which plays a huge part in Great Britain, I would like to assure the English people that I, as a president elected by the people, will do my duty to Russia and defend democracy.

I am ready to answer your questions.

Yeltsin News Conference

LD1111033192 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 2222 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] London, 11 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin answered journalists' questions at a news conference on Tuesday on the results of his visit to Great Britain:

[Correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, you said in Parliament today that Russia and Great Britain are embarking on a common voyage from London. Could you please say when the 150 million people of Russia who are finding life hard will feel that we have come closer to Great Britain?

[Yeltsin] First, I must say that, in general, people in Russia have always had a great deal of respect for the British. For their special character and subtle humor and for their foreign policy, which is balanced and without abrupt changes. Yes, I am sure that a common voyage awaits Great Britain and ourselves. I addressed Parliament today, you know, and I looked many times at Mrs. Thatcher. I have great regard for her. I had great regard for her, and I still do. But her theory that one can only defend oneself through confrontation and by force is crumbling today. Not only are we not potential enemies of Great Britain, but today we are partners—that is certain. Yesterday and today we have been agreeing that we must be allies. Allies against Iraq and against other extremist states. That is what the question is about. That is what our common voyage is all about.

[Correspondent] Could you give us your impressions of the meeting with the queen, and did the queen tell you that she intended to visit Russia soon?

[Yeltsin] Although I am in England for the third time, today was the first time that I was received by Her Majesty Elizabeth II of Great Britain. Excuse me for saying so, but the first thing that I liked was that she turned out to be an ordinary woman, without any queenly ways. We sat together for two hours and talked all the time. We talked as if we had already been acquainted for many years, and this shows that Russia has changed. The queen received an official invitation to visit the now former Soviet Union in 1989. She declined. Today I invited her. Taking into account that it is already a different Russia, with other principles, with democratic tendencies, with a move toward market relations and partnership, with Great Britain included, she accepted the invitation with deep respect and dignity, saying that she would make the visit in the near future.

[Correspondent] You proposed today not only to Britain but to the whole West a relationship as allies. Do you find understanding on the part of the West of our Russian problems and the need to strengthen our course?

[Yeltsin] Thank you. I understand your question, of course. You know, I was in Britain on a short working visit on my way to New York in January. And here I am

today. Yesterday and today. This is a completely different situation, although I am with the same prime minister—Mr. Major. We had our main talks with him yesterday. There was understanding of Russia's position. Yes, the West is also going through a crisis today. Britain is also finding things difficult. Nevertheless, the prime minister and his ministers—the defense minister and the chancellor—having signed six treaties and agreements, are confident that they are contributing to supporting the reforms in Russia. This is very, very important. They are confident they will support the reforms. This is very important.

[Correspondent] You have many times talked about an alliance between Russia and England. What do you think Russia's relations with NATO will be like?

[Yeltsin] First, I think such a principle, such a term as East- West, the communist aggressive East and the democratically inclined West, will disappear. This gap between them is not only narrowing, but is generally disappearing. There will not be such a dividing line. This will be the case in the very near future. There are the terms trust and cooperation. There is the term alliance. Today the idea of an alliance between the current West and East cannot be accepted. There is alliance within the West. There is alliance within the East. But the idea of alliance between them is regarded as something improbable, not simply an anachronism, but idiocy. So I am telling you that we are making a transition to a form of civilized contacts when alliance-type relations emerge both within the East and within the West, and what is most important, between the East and West. One asks who we are allies against. Yes, against those who are hatching up extremist plans—only against them. A civilized state should only have alliance-type relations with another civilized state. This is what we are striving for, with Great Britain included.

[Correspondent] On the eve of the visit and during your stay here it has repeatedly been mentioned in the local press that Great Britain's policy with regard to Russia, especially economic policy, will depend on how the reform program is proceeding within our country. This is undoubtedly a great incentive for our economy to continue its work. For all that, from time to time within the country one has to hear voices claiming that we have put our policy under the West. That is, on the one hand, there is foreign incentive, and, on the other, there is the situation in the country. Where, in your opinion, is the happy medium in our incentives?

[Yeltsin] The West is no longer dictating conditions, telling us what to do in order to get aid. I will tell you that during the talks, yesterday and today, this question did not arise in general. It still arose in the United States, but not in Britain today. No conditions. Why? The belief exists that Russia is traversing the path of reforms and that it will not leave that path. There is a belief here in Great Britain, among the Britons, among the leaders of Great Britain. This is very important. This is the reason why those conditions did not come up during the talks

we had. As regards the progress being made in reforms in our country, I think that is not for British listeners. But I have never concealed anything from anyone, and therefore I am saying that naturally they are moving ahead with difficulty. Nevertheless, 10 months have passed. You remember how they frightened us—that there would be complete collapse in February, in March, in April, in May, in July, in October. This failure has not occurred. It has not happened. The people believed. During my trips to the oblasts, krais, and republics—a few days ago I visited Astrakhan Oblast—I saw for myself yet again that the people believe in the reforms.

[Correspondent] When you spoke in America in June, you said that Russian nuclear warheads would not be directed toward the West. Yet Marshal Shaposhnikov recently told us that the former position still exists. You say warm and kind words about us when you are here and in America, but at home you have quite different realities, including military ones. Can you tell us that what Marshal Shaposhnikov said is not true, and that the words you speak in the West coincide with what you say at home?

[Yeltsin] Absolutely, I will give you a totally frank answer. The Russian defense minister is present. I ask General Grachev to stand up. Today, all the strategic troops belong to Russia and are under Russian jurisdiction. They are given orders only by the president and by the defense minister. That is the first point.

The most important thing is that today we actively have begun to destroy strategic nuclear weapons, especially the most dangerous warheads of the SS-18 missiles. This is being done by Sverdlovsk-44, Arzamas-16, and Chelyabinsk-65. The enterprises that made them are the ones that are destroying them. What is more, the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet ratified the START Treaty two days ago. That is the second point. We will abide by it without reservation.

Third: The outline [ramochnoye] agreement signed with Bush on the reduction and destruction by two-thirds of strategic nuclear weapons. We are ready to sign a treaty, and not only an outline agreement on this subject. I do not know [whether it will be] with the new president, Clinton, or whether we will succeed by 20 January with Mr. George Bush. Time will tell, but we are ready. The main thing is that we are ready.

Fourth: There are three states that, apart from Russia, have strategic nuclear weapons—Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. In Belarus, by my decree, all strategic troops have transferred to Russian jurisdiction and are not subordinate to Belarus. Therefore, we are transporting all strategic nuclear warheads from there to Russian territory and we are destroying them. The same kind of talks are being conducted right now with Kazakhstan, and I believe that we will reach the same kind of accord. It is somewhat more difficult with Ukraine, but I believe that Great Britain and other countries will use

their powerful influence so that we can come to an agreement with Ukraine, although contacts between us at the moment are good.

Fifth: We have extended the moratorium on nuclear tests to the middle of next year. This already was in existence, but there was no trust, and this moratorium was not supported by other states. Today, it has been supported by France and it has been supported by the United States. In the future, we three nuclear states—if the process proceeds in this way—will be able to halt nuclear weapons tests altogether. It is not logical to destroy them while at the same time carrying out tests. There is no logic in that process.

'Text' of Russian-British Economic Agreement

LD1011192692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1715 GMT 9 Nov 92

(Text) London, 9 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—Aleksandr Shokhin, Russian deputy prime minister, and Michael Heseltine, British trade and industry minister, today signed here an agreement on economic cooperation between Russia and Great Britain.

Follows the full text:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ON ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

The Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (named below jointly as "the Parties" and separately as "the Party"):

Considering economic relations as an important and necessary element in the strengthening of bilateral relations;

Being convinced that the development of bilateral economic cooperation will further the improvement of the prosperity of the peoples of each country;

Expressing confidence that the widening of economic cooperation between the Parties and the peoples of each country, including direct contacts between Russian organizations, companies, and citizens and British organizations, companies, and citizens (hereinafter referred to as "nationals and legal persons") will be an important step on the path toward the integration of the Russian Federation in the world economic system;

Desiring to establish a basis for economic cooperation between the two countries;

Confirming their wish to develop economic cooperation in accordance with the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act (August 1975), the Paris Charter for a New Europe (November 1990), the Helsinki Document of 1992, and with the other documents of the Conference

on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in accordance with the Document of the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe (March-April 1990), with the European Energy Charter (December 1991) and with the Joint Declaration of the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland "Partnership in the 1990's";

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The Parties shall aim to develop favorable conditions for the long-term improvement of economic cooperation and investment in the two countries, including by means of encouraging:

- (a) the use of all available methods of financing for the support of mutual cooperation in business, investment, and joint enterprises;
- (b) the establishment of preconditions for investment in their countries which will be attractive to investors from the other country;
- (c) the creation and maintenance of systems to protect intellectual property in accordance with the standards generally prevailing in Europe;
- (d) measures to assist the development of economic and business links, such as fairs, exhibitions, seminars, and the exchange of visits of businessmen.

ARTICLE 2

Each Party, at the request of the other Party, shall provide interested nationals and legal persons of the other country with market information in its possession insofar as such information is of a nonconfidential character and its provision is consistent with the national law of the Party providing such information.

ARTICLE 3

The Parties acknowledge the significance of financing, including the provision of medium and long term credits, for steady and effective economic cooperation. The Parties shall, within the framework of national rules and international arrangements, make efforts to provide export credits on suitably favorable terms.

ARTICLE 4

The Parties confirm their readiness to cooperate within the framework of international financial institutions.

ARTICLE 5

Each Party affirms the importance of the principle of the freedom of transit of goods transported through the territory of its country and originating from the territory of the other country, in accordance with the laws and provisions pertaining in its country.

ARTICLE 6

The Parties recognise the importance for economic cooperation of the development of infrastructure, including transport and communications both national and international. They shall encourage companies and organizations to participate in projects to improve the infrastructure, including cooperation in securing funding from international organizations for that purpose.

ARTICLE 7

The Parties shall continue to cooperate and encourage cooperation through training and other forms of technical assistance with the aim of expanding the knowledge, skills, and experience of managers and specialists in all fields of industry and agriculture, financial management, and financial services.

ARTICLE 8

Each Party confirms that it shall provide legal protection for investment by nationals and legal persons of the other country in accordance with the Agreement for the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investments dated 6 April 1989 and with any other Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement subsequently concluded by the Parties.

ARTICLE 9

The Parties recognize the importance of cooperation in the fields of Science and Technology and agree to promote such cooperation on a mutually beneficial basis. Such cooperation shall include but shall not be limited to the exchange of appropriate information, scientists and specialists.

ARTICLE 10

The Parties have established a UK/Russian Intergovernmental Steering Committee on Trade and Investment to increase mutually beneficial business cooperation, to help create a favorable climate and legal basis for economic cooperation, to eliminate barriers to investment, to assist specific projects for economic cooperation and to explore different ways of financing projects.

ARTICLE 11

Nationals and legal persons of either country shall receive national treatment with respect to access to and procedure of all courts and administrative bodies in the territory of the other country as plaintiffs, defendants, or otherwise in connection with commercial deals.

ARTICLE 12

Each Party agrees to conduct, at the request of the other Party, immediate consultations concerning problems linked with the implementation of the present Agreement, which in the opinion of the requesting Party might cause damage to its economy, financial position, national industry or agriculture. In choosing measures for resolving the above-mentioned problems the Parties shall give preference to those measures which have the

least negative influence on the achievement of the purposes of the present Agreement.

ARTICLE 13

Any changes or additions to this Agreement shall be agreed in writing between the Parties.

ARTICLE 14

The Parties declare that this Agreement shall not detract from or otherwise displace the Parties' respective rights and obligations under any existing bilateral and multilateral agreements to which either is a party, including any arising from their membership of international organizations, and that this Agreement shall be construed subject to any such agreements and is not intended to affect the interests of any other State or groups of States.

ARTICLE 15

The present Agreement shall enter into force on the date of signature. It shall remain in force until the expiry of a six month period after written communication from one of the Parties concerning its intention to terminate the Agreement.

In witness thereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement.

Done at London this Ninth Day of November 1992 in two originals in the Russian and English languages, both texts being equally authoritative.

For the Government of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: A. Shokhin

For the Government of the Russian Federation: M. Heseltine

Agreement on Secure Telephone Link

LD1011183292 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1745 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] London, 9 November (ITAR-TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign affairs minister, and Baroness Chalker, British minister for overseas development, signed an agreement here today on a direct telephone link between the Kremlin and 10 Downing Street, the prime minister's residence. The full text follows below:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIRECT SECURE TELEPHONE LINKS BETWEEN THE KREMLIN IN MOSCOW AND 10 DOWNING STREET IN LONDON

The Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland;

Acting in the interests of the further development of mutually beneficial friendly relations between the two states;

Seeking to improve the reliability and security of telephonic communications between the Kremlin in Moscow and 10 Downing Street in London;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

For the purpose of improving the quality, reliability, and security of high-level telephone links, the contracting parties will establish and bring into operation a direct encrypted telephone speech link between 10 Downing Street in London and the Kremlin in Moscow (hereinafter called "the Speech Link"). In accordance with the provisions of the present agreement, the Speech Link will be operated without encryption until suitable encryption equipment can be installed.

ARTICLE II

1. For the purpose of the establishment, bringing into operation and subsequent use of the Speech Link, the contracting parties will designate the agencies which will be responsible for arrangements regarding the Speech Link, its technical maintenance, continuity and reliability. These agencies will by mutual agreement:

(a) Determine the configuration and the technical parameters of the Speech Link and channels of communication and the specific types of equipment to be used;

(b) Work out recommendations and rules in accordance with which the operation of the Speech Link will be carried out;

(c) As necessary, consider and resolve questions relating to the carrying out of possible changes in the configuration and working procedures of the Speech Link.

2. The operation of the Speech Link will be carried out on the basis of recommendations signed by authorized representatives of the agencies of each contracting party. The recommendations may be amended by the same procedure.

ARTICLE III

1. The Speech Link will comprise the following component parts:

(a) Telephones;

(b) Encryption systems;

(c) Dedicated bearers.

2. Pending the development and availability of suitable encryption systems, the Speech Link will be established and operated without encryption. For the period of such operation procedures will be established to take account of the insecurity of the Speech Link.

3. The contracting parties will lease and maintain the two dedicated bearers.

ARTICLE IV

1. The contracting parties will take measures to ensure that the Speech Link is established in the shortest possible time after signature of the present Agreement.

2. The terminal points of the Speech Link will be equipped with encryption systems developed and made available at the earliest practicable date. The encryption system for one of the bearers will be provided by the Russian Federation and the encryption system for the other bearer will be provided by the United Kingdom. The parties will supply to each other full technical design information on their encryption systems to enable them to verify their adequacy for use with the Speech Link.

ARTICLE V

1. Expenditure on the establishment and operation of the Speech Link, with the exception of the encryption systems, will be based on the principle that the cost of equipment and sectors of the lines within territorial boundaries will be paid for respectively by each contracting party and that each party will pay for its own portion of the international sectors.

2. The cost of the encryption system for one bearer will be borne in full by the Russian Federation and the cost of the encryption system for the other bearer will be borne in full by the United Kingdom.

3. The Russian Federation and the United Kingdom will each without charge provide encryption systems to the other. The number of systems to be supplied by one country to the other country will be determined by the agency of the donor country.

ARTICLE VI

The present agreement may be amended by mutual agreement of the contracting parties. It will enter into force on the date of signature.

In witness whereof the representatives of the two governments have signed the present agreement.

Done in duplicate in London this 9th day of November 1992 in the Russian and English languages, both texts being equally authoritative.

For the Government of the Russian Federation: A. Kozyrev

For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Baroness Chalker

Accord on Civil Aviation Security

LD1011203692 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1800 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* at 1604 GMT on 10 November transmitted a service message killing the following item]

[Text] London, 9 November (*ITAR-TASS*)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Baroness Chalker, British state minister for overseas development, have signed a memorandum of understanding between Russia and Great Britain regarding cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation security. The full text follows:

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Northern Ireland regarding cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation security

The Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, guided by the aims and principles of multilateral conventions on civil aviation security, such as the Tokyo convention of 1963 on offenses and certain other acts committed on board aircraft; the Hague convention of 1970 on the suppression of the unlawful seizure of aircraft; the Montreal convention of 1971 on the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation, have reached the following accords. They deal with the resolution of incidents during the course of which a civil aircraft registered in these countries or any individual on board such an aircraft is subjected to an act of unlawful seizure on the territory (including the airspace) of the other state, which would qualify as an offense in accordance with the Hague convention of 1970 on the suppression of the unlawful seizure of aircraft, the Montreal convention of 1971 on the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation, or the New York international convention of 1979 on the battle against the seizure of hostages, including incidents which occur when aircraft are on the territory (including the airspace) of a third country, and incidents during which aircraft are forced to fly to a third country (hereinafter called "incidents").

Responsibility for Resolving an Incident

1. The responsibility for resolving an incident lies with the bodies of the government of the country on the territory of which the civil aircraft was situated at the time of the incident (hereinafter called the "government in charge"). According to other clauses in the current memorandum, the other government will grant such help as it can give and which is demanded or requested by the

government in charge. Close consultations and links between the two governments need to be established for the incident to be resolved.

Notification of an Incident or Threat

2. If one of the governments becomes aware of a specific and credible threat of illegal intervention with regard to a civilian aircraft of another state, it will immediately notify the other government of this threat via diplomatic channels.

Contacts

3. In case of an incident, a representative of the other government may establish the initial contact with the government in charge, using communication channels cited in Appendix A to the present memorandum.

Consultations, explanations and control

4. Each of the governments will seek to make available to the other government all information it has on the incident. In particular, the government in charge will seek to urgently make available to the other government information regarding: 1) the nature, time, and place of the incident; 2) ownership, tail number, and type of aircraft; 3) details known about persons responsible for initiating the incident (hereinafter described as "terrorists") and their demands if there are any; 4) the possibility of contacting the crew directly.

5. The government in charge will seek to grant the other government information regarding planned or proposed responses. The government in charge will always make efforts to hold consultations with the other government well in advance, particularly if a decision is to be adopted on using force to settle the incident. However, irrespective of such consultations, the government in charge reserves the right to take the final decision with regard to all aspects of the incident.

6. To guarantee assistance in dealing with the incident, both governments, on receiving a request and as far as it is practically possible, will exchange background information about terrorists or any group of which they might be members, particularly about their participation in similar incidents in the past.

When the incident takes place both governments will, if necessary, consult each other on their reciprocal diplomatic actions with regard to the groups responsible for the incident and the states supporting them.

7. As the incident develops, the government in charge will try to provide information to the other government regarding:

- a) The development of the incident;
- b) The measures taken to deal with the incident (including the actions taken against the terrorists);
- c) The state of health of the passengers and the crew.

8. As far as possible the government in charge will favorably consider a request for representatives of the other government to be present at the command center in connection with the incident where operational and tactical decisions on dealing with the incident are taken, and if the command center, due to the incident, has been removed from the site of the incident, then the government in charge will favorably consider a request to be present also on the site of the incident.

Resolution of an Incident

9. The government in charge will grant to such aircraft, as far as possible in practice, the permission to land at the nearest airport possessing facilities for a safe and reliable resolution of the incident.

10. In principle, and as envisaged in the relevant international agreements, each government will maintain the policy of taking whatever steps it may deem practicably possible, in order to ensure that an illegally seized aircraft which has landed on its territory is detained on the ground, unless the overriding necessity to protect human lives requires that it should take off.

11. The government in charge will establish all contacts with terrorists in order to ensure the release of passengers and crew. As far as practicably possible, both governments will coordinate and grant mutual assistance in the course of such negotiations.

12. Both governments are agreed that there should be no concessions whatsoever to the political demands of terrorists and that the aim should always be to settle an on-going terrorist incident by peaceful methods through talks and without force, which can only be used as a last resort. Except for exceptional circumstances, the government in charge will consult with the other government before permitting the use of force.

Informing the Mass Media and Public

13. Both governments recognize the importance of the nature and volume of information given to the mass media during a terrorist incident. Furthermore, it is essential that all persons dealing with the mass media should, as far as possible, be told one and the same information and should try to avoid contradictory or inaccurate statements. They also recognize the need to ensure, as far as is possible and legal, that information which could help the terrorists or create a threat to people's lives should not be broadcast via the mass media to the terrorists (for example, information on passengers and the crew or any detailed information on methods and resources being employed in connection with the incident).

14. Both governments will maintain close contact over the matter of relations with the mass media. The government in charge will regulate relations with representatives of the mass media at the incident site. It will, as

far as possible, provide the other government with preliminary texts of statements drawn up for the press during the incident.

Access of Consular Representatives

15. The government in charge will ensure access for the consular agents of the other government to its citizens from among the passengers and members of the crew, and also from among any of the terrorists taken into custody, as soon as is practically possible.

Medical Assistance

16. Persons injured in the course of an incident will receive prompt and effective medical assistance, and if need be, they will be evacuated to a third country.

Consultations With Third Countries

17. Both governments will consult in the appropriate manner with regard to their contacts with third countries, which might be able to render them assistance 1) in resolving the incident, or 2) in adopting subsequent measures which the states may wish to take regarding the incident.

Investigation Following the Incident

18. After the incident has been resolved, the government in charge will conduct an investigation with the utmost cooperation with the other government.

Cooperation Following the Incident

19. After the incident has ended, the government in charge, on whose territory the civil aircraft has been during the incident, will start holding consultations with the other government to analyze the experience gathered during the incident and to assess the effectiveness of the process of cooperation and procedures which have been applied.

If in the course of the incident the civil aircraft has been on the territory of both states, then these consultations will be started by the government on whose territory the civil aircraft was last located.

20. Both governments adhere to their obligations in accordance with point 2 of Article 9 of the 1970 Hague convention on the suppression of the unlawful seizure of aircraft and point 2 of Article 10 of the 1971 Montreal convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation. In accordance with these provisions, the government in charge will assist the passengers and crew of the aircraft to continue their journey as soon as possible and will return the aircraft and its cargo to its legal owners without delay.

The government in charge will, as far as possible, assist any necessary repair work required to put the aircraft in working order.

21. Both governments adhere to their obligations in accordance with Article 7 of the Hague convention on

the suppression of the unlawful seizure of aircraft and Article 7 of the Montreal convention on the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation. In accordance with these agreements, every government, if it does not hand over a criminal who is on its territory, passes the case to its competent bodies for the purposes of criminal prosecution.

Both governments adhere to their obligations in accordance with point 1 of Article 10 of the Hague convention for the suppression of the unlawful seizure of aircraft and point 1 of Article 11 of the Montreal convention for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation. In accordance with both these provisions, both governments will provide each other with the fullest possible assistance in starting a criminal investigation in connection with crimes which fall under these conventions.

Exchange of Information

22. Within the bounds permitted by their laws in the given sphere, the parties will make available copies of the relevant laws, provisions, and principles concerning the resolution of crisis situations in the field of civil aviation, and inform one another of amendments made to these laws, provisions and principles.

23. This memorandum of understanding can be periodically reviewed by both governments to keep it up to date.

24. With the consent of both governments, additional items or refinements may be included in the appropriate manner in this understanding.

25. This memorandum comes into force from the day of signing and will remain in force until the expiry of six months after the day upon which one of the parties notifies the other party in writing of its intention to terminate its validity.

26. The above is an understanding reached between the government of the Russian Federation and the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland regarding the issues upon which it touches.

Signed in London on 9 November 1992 in duplicate in Russian and English, both texts being equally authoritative.

For the Government of the Russian Federation: A. Kozyrev

For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: Baroness Chalker

Yeltsin Arrives in Hungary on Official Visit

LD1011224692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2036
GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest November 10 TASS—A guard of honour was mustered at Ferihegy Airport. Boris Yeltsin

and his wife were met by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz and his wife, Defence Minister Lajos Fur and other officials. Hungary's ambassador to Russia, Gyorgy Nanovfsky and Russia's Ambassador to Hungary Ivan Aboimov were among the welcoming party.

From the airport Yeltsin and his wife accompanied by officials headed to the Bela Kiraly residence designed for the Russian president.

Addresses Hungarian Parliament

LD1111203392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1945
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest November 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin spoke in the Hungarian parliament on Wednesday. Follows the text of his speech:

Mr. President,

Honorary deputies,

Ladies and gentlemen,

For the first time in the history of relations between our states the president of a democratic and free Russia has a chance to address parliamentarians of a democratic and free Hungary.

I pass you best wishes from Russians and their genuine desire to live in complete understanding and friendship with the Hungarian people.

There has always been a great and genuine interest in Russia to your country's life and culture. Russia and Hungary had maintained active political and trade contacts at the start of their statehood.

A friendly alliance struck by Peter the Great and Francis Rakoczy the Second in 1707 was one of the brightest moments in the history of Russian-Hungarian relations.

Unfortunately, as it often happens in history, good times were replaced by darker times. I know that the Hungarian people remember the revolution of 1848 and 1849 and the sad role played by Tsarist Russia in it.

A little more than a hundred years later a very similar thing happened. I am now speaking about the tragedy of 1956.

It will forever remain an indelible spot on the Soviet regime. Traces of tracks, which ploughed the streets of Budapest have forever imprinted on the souls of those who cherish the ideals of freedom and democracy. I am convinced these people constitute the majority in Hungary and Russia.

Mankind then got one more confirmation that totalitarianism, any tyranny never remain within the borders of one country. They strive to extend their poisonous tentacles as far as possible. They do not recognize borders and moral constraints.

It is bitter to think that Russian soldiers had been drawn in those tragic events on orders of the then Kremlin leaders. This happened only 10 years after they liberated Hungary from the brown plague of Fascism at the price of immense sacrifices. One violent ideology had been replaced by another.

I believe it is deeply symbolic that the Hungarian people were the first to rise against enslavement. The national uprising was not in vain. It showed that not only individuals, but entire nations were beginning to understand that there can be no future without the liberation from communist dictatorship.

Today we bow our heads before all victims of 1956. The revenge of the system that had been dealt a considerable strike was cruel. It extended outside Hungary. New prisoners of the gulag appeared in Russia and other countries of the so-called socialist camp.

The entire world saw that every country, every nation produces both heroes and henchmen. Unfortunately, there are no exclusions.

The citizens of Hungary and Russia should know all the truth about that tragic time. And they will know about it by all means. Very soon, rather than many years later.

Truth is needed not to prompt blind revenge. Justice cannot be restored and cleansing is impossible without full truth.

The court of conscience, repentance, and forgiveness are impossible without full truth.

An agreement on cooperation between our two countries in the archive sphere was signed today. It will shed new light on the events of 1956 and the archives of the KGB and the CPSU. It is clear that truth cannot be complete without documents kept in Staraya Square. Russia is prepared for the broadest cooperation possible in studying them. All obstacles towards this have been removed.

The clamp on the revolution could not destroy your people's love of freedom.

During the decline of socialism, Hungary, more than any other East European country, tapped free-market experience. There was more openness and pluralism in your country, even in those tough conditions. Pragmatism always prevailed over ideological blindfolds.

Hungary was dubbed the most attractive barracks in the socialist camp. This is one of the saddest compliments I have ever heard in my life. However, it was justified.

Currently, we are carefully studying your unique experience of flexible and consistent economic reforms which preserved stability in the country. This does not mean blind copying of what you or our partners will be doing. We want to achieve an organic combination of world

experience and our own traditions, democratic values and requirements in the development of our multinational society.

New times fill our relations with the Republic of Hungary with new contents. Russians remember gratefully that in those dramatic days of the August putsch Hungary's voice was heard on the barricades in Moscow and in the world.

The epoch of "inviolable friendship" at gunpoint did not turn us into slaves of mutual hatred and alienation. In the very complex conditions of life in the "kingdom of distorting mirrors" we have succeeded in preserving a kind and humane attitude towards each other. This is what matters.

The task is now different—both to restore normal relations and impart them a new dynamism. We can do this.

I am convinced within a short time our countries will become good neighbors and trusted friends.

Our peoples have seen a lot and suffered a lot to miss this great opportunity, which they themselves created. This opportunity means that social and political reforms in our countries are acquiring an irreversible character.

Our peoples' indestructible desire for freedom and democracy is the main proof of this. I believe it is clear to everybody that our mutual cooperation has immense potential.

Russia and Hungary are both geographically close and know each other's conditions, customs and traditions, and potentialities of the East European market. Our economies are highly integrated and have a developed communications network for economic ties.

If we succeed in tapping this potential, both Hungary and Russia will feel tangible results very soon. The key thing now is to create a legal and economic base for this.

This is a task for parliaments and governments. It is extremely important, there shall be no delays, and the most energetic efforts are required.

Unless it is solved, favorable conditions for economic interaction and exchange of products and technologies, for joint investment activities, and flow of capital and workers will not be set up.

The federation treaty signed in Russia opens new opportunities for contacts between your country and Russian republics.

People who speak a language related to Hungarian live near the Volga River, in the Urals and Western Siberia. They strive to develop direct, mutually beneficial cooperation with Hungary in all spheres.

Agreements have been reached to settle debts, financial and property issues connected with the withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Hungary.

I consider the signing of a declaration on cooperation between our countries to ensure the rights of ethnic minorities as an important event affecting the interests of both Russia and Hungary.

We have discussed all these questions at today's meetings with Hungarian leaders. The constructive character of the talks, the desire to find concrete solutions to mutual problems have confirmed our mutual interest to develop the dialogue.

We are building entirely new relations. The major condition for this is the dismantlement of everything that was generated by the previous system.

Over 40 years the Soviet troops were the unalienable feature of the now-defunct Warsaw Pact. The withdrawal of Russian troops from East Europe is almost completed.

A regular political dialogue has been established on a summit level. Agreements have been reached on basic principles of our relations.

They meet the highest international criteria, because they are based on full equality of partners, mutual benefit and respect for each other's positions and interests.

These principles are laid down in inter-state agreements not only between Russia and Hungary but also between Russia and Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria. They have provided the foundation for the renovation of the whole legal basis of relations between our countries.

I think our partners do not have reasons to reproach Russia for inheriting big brother ambitions from the USSR. We know too well the price of brotherly embraces that crush one's bones.

I am convinced only equal partnership and joint voluntary efforts of all countries in the region will lead us into the future, not futile cooperation or forceful imposition of doubtful recipes.

We can and should be partners in building democratic institutions and a market economy. We can and should coordinate our efforts to enter world and European structures. All our countries are interested in this.

The development of our relations should not and cannot be based on rigid schemes of cooperation rejected by life. There is no sense in restoring old, so-called "allied" but rigid hierarchical in reality, relations based on dictate from Moscow.

At the same time, it would be a great mistake to forget all that good that connected our people. I stress people, not regimes.

Counteraction was determined not only by resolutions of totalitarian regimes. It was determined by life itself and it often developed against the will of dictators.

Now we have a unique opportunity to enrich it with the experience of world, European, and regional cooperation. All the more so because Hungary has a seat in the U.N. Security Council.

It is symbolic that the next summit meeting within the framework of the Helsinki Process will take place in 1994 in your beautiful capital. I believe this is a vivid example of the fact that the role the Republic of Hungary plays in the world is steadily growing.

Upon all of us will depend the fruitfulness of the Budapest meeting and our country will do its best and use all its authority.

Russia is deeply interested that the logic of confrontation, which has literally poisoned the life of our continent, would recede into the past forever.

My generation knew Europe divided by a super-border into two irreconcilable systems. But it would be a great tragedy if it is replaced by new splits along ethnic or religious lines.

It is high time that we said frankly and openly that the main threats to security and stability in Europe come from this region which was known until recently as the socialist camp.

We all bear responsibility for peace and prosperity of our continent.

We should always remember that we, Europeans, are successors and keepers of the colossal heritage, and act respectively.

The largest political structures in Europe and the world intensively work in one direction. The aim is quite clear—to make as mild as possible the transition of post-totalitarian Europe into a normal, civilised continent. With united efforts we can save it from new shocks and cataclysms. For this we need goodwill and coordinated efforts of all countries.

All factors promoting stability are worth support. I believe this role could be played by the emerging sub-regional and regional organisations in Central and Eastern Europe, such as the Visegrad Three and the Central European initiative.

I hope they will not become closed groups and will develop in accordance with the spirit of the European process. Russia is ready to develop a regular dialogue with these structures.

The Danube cooperation could become a factor strengthening stability and bringing peoples and countries together. Especially now that perspectives of its cooperation with the Black Sea region are beginning to take shape. Russia would like to see it open to all interested states. The spectrum of cooperation could be considerably broadened.

Esteemed deputies of the State Assembly.

I am certain that Hungary and other East European countries are well informed about processes going on in Russia.

You have learned through your own experience how difficult reforms are to carry out. The path is difficult and thorny. People's mentality is changing hard. The "shadows of the past" catch us by the heels.

However, I am certain there will be no stepping back from this strategic course of reform in Russia. We are strong enough to stop those who are trying to turn back history. These efforts are futile. We are finished with the communist past forever, not only in Russia, but also in Hungary and all of Europe.

Russia will build a democratic, civilised state with a modern market economy, where every citizen will be able to become an owner and determine his fate freely, where the highest criteria will be human rights.

Our final goal meets the interests of not only Russians, but the citizens of your country, as well as the whole Europe and the world. We will be together on this difficult but noble path.

I would like to finish my speech with the words of prominent Hungarian politician and reformer of the last century Count Istvan Szechenyi. His spiritual heritage is especially important now when our countries are carrying out radical reforms aimed to bring them to the heights of modern civilisation. He said "many think that there was Hungary. I would like to believe that Hungary will always be."

I always believed and believe in this. Hungary will always be, as will be honest partnership between our countries. There will always be trust, sympathy, and undying interest in each other between our people.

Thank you.

Yeltsin, Hungary's Antall Hold News Conference

LD1111074892 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0055 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Excerpts] Budapest, 12 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—A joint news conference devoted to the results of the official visit by the Russian guest was held on Wednesday evening in Budapest by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

In his opening address, the Russian president said:

Mr. Prime Minister! Ladies and gentlemen! I feel that the visit to Hungary that took place as arranged and at the invitation of the president of the Hungarian Republic passed off more than successfully. I feel, and I am not afraid to appear immodest, that this is the start of a new epoch in relations between Hungary and Russia. The "Soviet" notion finally has gone from our relations. Natural political priorities are emerging. Relations will be built on the basis of the national interests both of the

states and on universally accepted political norms, on an absolutely equal footing, and on mutual respect.

Arriving in Hungary, and laying wreaths at the tombs of heroes and victims, I felt today an aching, heartfelt, spiritual pain. But, at the same time, I experienced a cleansing. Leaving those awful times behind, we are moving to where such events will not be repeated. What a bitter, bitter memory remains after this so-called communism. This, of course, is our common woe, our common tragedy. Russia and the Russian people have suffered no less. In our country, millions died during this period. We, too, were hostages of communism and of its ideology as were Hungary, the Czech lands, Slovakia, Poland, and other countries.

Today, Russia is a different country. We have a different code of morals, different politics. Foreign policy bears the main thing: the imprint of morality, openness, mutual respect, and sincerity in our relations. Instead of fists, Russia wants to act in Europe using reason and heart, and perhaps using heart first of all, and then reason, in tackling our common European problems.

Politicians have overestimated stability on the European continent. We have Yugoslavia, and complex processes are under way in Czechoslovakia and some other states. In Russia and in Europe, nationalism is rearing its head. This is the last refuge of the communists. This, today, is where they find forces to utilize. They still want to take revenge, using the mask of patriotism. Speaking in the British Parliament, I said this is now a "theater of shadows." But, at the same time, this is a very dangerous theater because, using the fact that in conducting our reforms and switching to a market economy we are having to make unpopular decisions, the communists are attempting to swill their ideas out onto the streets.

In Europe we have a great deal of common work. Today our continent is still akin to a powder keg. We have to turn it into a peaceful home, and it is very difficult to do this.

As we held our talks, at first political, with the president, and then more detailed with the prime minister, and then between the two delegations, we, of course, touched upon these problems. It undoubtedly is easier to build barracks than peaceful homes. This requires enormous effort. We have realized that the most reliable path is the path of evolution.

There are difficult tasks in the sphere of human rights. Over many decades the former Soviet Union maintained a solidly defensive position in this sphere. Today, by contrast, we are going actively over to the offensive. We are not afraid to say that we are building a legal state, where the right of the citizen and human freedom will be guaranteed according to international standards.

Today has been a very full, interesting day. Being in Hungary, in Budapest, for the first time, I of course was delighted. What a beautiful city! What a clean city! Fine

hands and fine brains. Only talented people could have built such unique buildings as the parliament building and many others.

We have signed many documents at various levels—with the prime minister, between ministers and the deputy chairman of the government. The list is:

- a declaration on the principles of cooperation between the Hungarian Republic and the Russian Federation in ensuring the rights of national or ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities. We also will act together at the United Nations in this area;
- an agreement on cooperation between the Defense Ministries;
- an agreement on settling property, financial, and other economic questions relating to the withdrawal of troops—the so-called “zero-option” plan, plus two protocols to this;
- an agreement on the settling of debts in convertible rubles;
- an agreement on cooperation between the state commissions for the restitution of cultural assets of the Russian Federation and the Hungarian Republic in the sphere of the restitution of cultural assets transferred during the Second World War and in subsequent years. We already have exchanged the first cultural assets today. We have handed over to the Hungarian side two 19th century paintings by talented Hungarian artists. And, from the Hungarian side, we have received a unique icon of the 18th century;
- further, an agreement on cooperation between the Culture Ministries;
- an agreement between the Government of the Hungarian Republic and the Government of the Russian Federation on cooperation in the sphere of state archives.

And, as I promised the president in Moscow, today I handed him the archives of the KGB and of the former CPSU Central Committee on the events of 1956.

A special agreement has been signed regarding further mutual interests and the reciprocal exchange of such assets.

I am grateful for the hospitality—both to the president and to the prime minister, and to all those who took part in the preparation of the documents; even to those who did not believe that all the documents would be signed, inasmuch as not all of them, unfortunately, were initialled at the level of experts. Mr. Prime Minister and I had to correct the documents with our own hands and to get them to the state in which every last one of them was signed.

I am grateful to the people of Budapest for their hospitality. I am grateful for the fact that you have such great influences in all spheres that you even ensured fine weather today. Thank you.

J. Antall then made an opening address. [passage omitted]

The Russian president and the Hungarian prime minister then answered journalists' questions.

[Hungarian radio] In the agreement concluded today, what sum is allocated for the supply by the Russian side of spare parts for weapons of the Hungarian Army?

[Antall] We are talking about half of the total sum. This relates to the technical sphere and the sphere of weapons proper.

[Russian television's “Vesti” program] Boris Nikolayevich, in order to unite, it is necessary to disengage. We all already have witnessed the process of demarcation of the countries from the former socialist camp. Can one say that here we see the reverse process of these countries coming back to cooperation, but this time with Russia?

[Yeltsin] Yes, undoubtedly, one definitely can say so; only not on the old terms, but on completely new principles. I already have said that these are democratic countries, law-based states, states respecting human rights, states with a market economy, these are deideologized relations with each other. This process already is under way today, and, as the esteemed prime minister already has said, we already had signed a treaty on our new cooperation on 6 December, two days before the disintegration of the Soviet Union. And today it already is in force.

On 6 December I signed a treaty condemning the intervention of former Soviet troops in Hungary in 1956. I condemn it! And today, handing over archival documents related to that tragic event, I have again confirmed it.

[INTERFAX] Boris Nikolayevich, tell us please, when you said today that your short visit to Hungary was more than successful, can we presume that Russia is beginning a new round of relations with its former East European allies?

[Yeltsin] Yes. On an absolutely new, I would say, highly moral basis. A year ago, or two, or three, there could have been no talk; no one would have dared to say that we would hand over documents on 1956 or that we would hand over the cultural treasures of Hungarian masters that had ended up in Russia. But today this is possible. Today we signed an agreement on the “zero-option.” The dispute about this has been going on for many years. Today we signed such a document regarding military property and from the point of view of the damage inflicted by the former Soviet Army, the ecological damage to Hungary. And there are many other instances which show that even in conditions of such

new relations we unfortunately have wasted time. Although Russia found itself supporting 140 embassies all at once, it had no independent external policy and therefore we were unable to deal with everything at once. Nevertheless, perhaps we have no excuse for being a little late compared with the countries of Eastern Europe, of the former so-called socialist camp. Now we are redressing this situation with regard to Hungary and other countries.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Was the problem of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia touched upon in the talks?

[Yeltsin] Today we discussed with the prime minister the situation in Yugoslavia, including the issue of ethnic minorities, of the Hungarians who are there. Incidentally, there are Russians there, too. For this reason we decided to sign a special agreement uniting our efforts to achieve an official decision in the United Nations, in its General Assembly and Security Council, in defense of ethnic interests. We are particularly concerned because for Russia this issue really is very difficult. There are Russians in all the republics of the former Soviet Union, hundreds of thousands of them, even millions. So, where the rights of Russians are trampled, we too—and I, as president—bear responsibility, and for this reason we want to unite efforts with Hungary for this issue to be considered in the United Nations.

Today I heard a very interesting proposal concerning Serbia. It will be necessary to think about this proposal voiced by the prime minister. It is a very clever and interesting proposal. Perhaps its implementation will to some extent defuse the situation there.

[Hungarian television] Boris Nikolayevich, you said that bureaucrats may slow down economic relations. How are these bureaucrats to be combatted? Everyone knows that you do not know the meaning of the word fear. Were you not afraid to travel abroad in such a difficult situation? Thank you.

[Yeltsin] I think that there are bureaucrats in any country. In some places less, in others more. In some places they have more significant influence, and in others less significant. The Russian bureaucracy is hardy. It is as if the former Soviet Union collapsed while the bureaucracy in Russia remains. Yes, it is a new, young state! Yes, I see no bureaucrats among the leaders of the government. But a certain middle layer of the apparatus does, of course, conduct itself in just such a bureaucratic way. Unfortunately, it is capable of ruining anything good. We, or rather, the Supreme Soviet, are considering a law on state service. This law, its adoption and then its implementation, will be a great help in combatting bureaucracy.

As regards my bravery, and the fact that I travelled to Britain and Hungary—the thing is that I did not leave behind a deputy president in Russia. And I am managing affairs in Russia from here; I do not transfer power to anyone.

Yeltsin Signs Minority Rights Accord

LD1111204692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1912 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, 11 November (ITAR-TASS)—A Declaration on the Principles of Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Hungary in Guaranteeing the Rights of National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities was signed here today. The following is the text:

The Russian Federation and the Republic of Hungary,

Stressing that their common goal is the creation of a democratic system which will guarantee all citizens within the framework of a law-based state the full realization of human rights and basic freedoms, the free expression of their legal interests and aspirations, political pluralism, social tolerance and equality before the law, and legal protection for both individuals and groups of people,

Proceeding from the 6 December 1991 treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the Republic of Hungary,

Recognizing the fact that respect for and promotion of the implementation of the rights of national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, hereinafter described as minorities, as part of universally recognized human rights, are a substantial factor for peace, justice, security, stability, and democracy and are necessary for the development of friendly relations and cooperation between states,

Expressing concern about the manifestations of intolerance and discrimination that are taking place in some countries, specifically toward the minorities residing in them, the surge of violence against persons belonging to these minorities, and also about the facts of ethnic purging,

Supporting in every possible way the activity of international forums and non-government organizations which is being implemented in this sphere, and paying special attention to its latest results, namely the declaration of rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities drawn up under UN auspices, the European charter of regional languages or the languages of national minorities opened by the Council of Europe for signing, as well as the decision on establishing the institution of CSCE supreme commissioner for national minorities,

And taking into account the fact that the drawing up and codification of international standards in the area of the rights of minorities need to be developed further,

Declare that they will base their policy in the area of ensuring the rights of minorities on the following principles:

1. The sides undertake to consistently guarantee the realization of the basic rights and freedoms of minorities, enjoyed both on an individual basis and also

together with other people in their group, including equality before the law and the inadmissibility of discrimination.

2. The sides undertake to improve the practical work which has arisen in this sphere on the basis of existing international-legal documents, and also to study the possibilities of developing new international standards.

3. With this aim, the sides will cooperate at international forums with the goal of uniform interpretation of functioning legal documents, and also of improving and utilizing most effectively the existing institutions and mechanisms and those that are being created.

4. Proceeding from the understanding of such universal values as social peace and freedom of the individual and the necessity of their universal provision, the sides view as a most important task the creation of favorable conditions for the preservation and development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious originality of minorities. These measures must serve the interests of the whole of society and may not lead to infringement of the rights of other citizens.

5. The sides respect the right of all persons to freely choose their ethnic identity, and to enjoy the rights following from this identity. The sides state that such a decision should not lead to any consequences unfavorable for them. Within this context, the sides note that such self-identification both on an individual basis and jointly with other members of the group can comprise, in a democratic society, such possibilities as setting up elected bodies for the affairs of minorities, local and autonomous government bodies, and autonomies on a territorial basis, as well as other forms of minorities' self-government and other possibilities for expressing their lawful interests within the framework of the constitutional structure of a democratic law-based state.

6. The sides will protect minorities by adopting legal and other necessary measures against any activity, including propaganda, which threatens their rights and unique character, incites violence or instigates and justifies hatred or discrimination on the basis of national identity.

7. The sides consider it necessary to ensure the free realization by individuals belonging to minorities of the right to effective participation in public life, both on an individual basis and jointly with others, i.e. by setting up independent public organizations and associations for the purpose of expressing and protecting their lawful interests, including participation in matters with respect to the preservation and development of their unique character, and to the adoption and implementation of decisions on issues concerning their places of residence.

8. The sides proclaim the need to adhere to the principle, in accordance with which the state bodies engaged in the affairs of nationalities and minorities are formed by democratic means with the participation of and taking into account the interests of all the nationalities residing

in the given territory, including those expressing the opinion of public organizations and associations.

9. The sides regard as unacceptable administrative, economic, or other measures aimed at the forcible assimilation of minorities or at altering the ethnic composition of regions within territories where minorities live.

10. The sides consider it appropriate to adopt the necessary legislative, administrative and other measures to make it possible for minorities to freely exercise their right to use their native language in personal and social life both in written form and in oral form, including using their national forenames and surnames.

The enjoyment of this right does not exclude the obligation to study the state language or languages.

11. The sides respect the right of minorities to preserve and develop their cultural identity, including the right to preserve and enjoy their own cultural heritage.

12. The sides respect the right of believers belonging to minorities to practise their religion, including the right to obtain, possess, produce and use religious materials and to carry out religious activity, including education, in their native language.

13. The sides respect minorities' right of protection and the representation of their fundamental interests and of free access to information in their native language, including the right to disseminate such information and exchange it and to enjoy state support for this purpose in accordance with the available possibilities.

14. The sides will do everything they can in order to assist the persons belonging to minorities in ensuring that they could, without any discrimination, establish and maintain contacts between themselves within their state as well as with citizens of other states with whom they have common ethnic or national origin, cultural heritage, or religion.

15. The sides confirm their intention to promote an international-legal codification of minorities' rights on bilateral, regional, and global levels. They declare their readiness to support in every possible way the efforts undertaken in this direction by the United Nations and within the framework of the CSCE.

16. In the interests of implementing the above-mentioned principles and of achieving the corresponding aims, the sides will coordinate their actions at various international forums, striving to achieve the widest international consensus and to use peaceful means to resolve conflicts.

17. None of the articles of this Declaration can be interpreted as giving the right to carry out any activity or to commit any action contrary to the aims and principles of the UN charter, other obligations under international law, or the articles of the Helsinki Final Act, including the principle of the territorial integrity of states.

Concluded in Budapest on 11 November, 1992 in two copies, in Russian and Hungarian.

For the Russian Federation: B.N. Yeltsin

For the Hungarian Republic: A. Goncz

TASS Sums Up Russian-Hungarian Talks

LD1111140592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1331
GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Zhirnikhin, Yuriy Sizov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Budapest November 11 TASS—The documents to be signed today by official delegation members from Hungary and Russia "are drawing the line under the past relations between the two countries and are laying down a new foundation for the development of comprehensive cooperation", according to Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

The Hungarian head of state especially stressed the role played by Russia on the European continent and in the world community. "Without Russia as a superpower it is impossible to image a collective security system", he stressed.

The Russian president, Boris Yeltsin, noted that his visit confirmed that a new page was being turned in the history of relations between Hungary and Russia. He praised the declaration of principles of cooperation between the two countries in securing national minority rights, which has been prepared for signing. Yeltsin pointed to the importance of cooperation between Hungary and Russia in this sphere both bilaterally and in the international arena.

While Yeltsin and Goncz were talking one-to-one, members of the two delegations held bilateral talks. Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and Hungarian Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa exchanged views on economic reforms and experience of transformations taking place both in Hungary and Russia, ITAR-TASS learned. They also touched upon interaction with international organizations.

Russian Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Petr Aven and the Hungarian Minister for International Economic Relations Bela Kadar discussed the former Soviet Union's debt to Hungary, which Russia has undertaken to repay. As a result of the talks, the two ministers reached an agreement on the amount of the debt—1.6 billion dollars.

Naturally the two delegations paid much attention to mutual financial settlements and claims relating to the property of the southern forces withdrawn from Hungary. As is known, earlier the Russian side insisted on

repayment of the cost of its installations in Hungary and Hungary in return claimed damages to the environment caused by the Soviet Army.

Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev told ITAR-TASS that the property claims were fully in competence of the leaders of the two countries. "What agreement they will reach behind closed doors I am naturally not in a position to say. But at the plenary meeting they will probably make their viewpoint on this problem known," the minister said.

Before the plenary meeting of the two delegations, Russian President Boris Yeltsin met Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

Spokesman for the Hungarian Government Balazs Laszlo told reporters about results of the meeting. According to Laszlo, Antall and Yeltsin reached accords on all the major questions. As concerns the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, an agreement was reached that the two countries would drop any financial claims with regard to each other. Along with this, Hungary assumed an obligation to supply ten million dollars worth of medicines to the Russian Army free of charge, as humanitarian aid. In addition, Budapest will study the possibility of assisting the Russian Army in building housing for the families of the servicemen of the former southern army.

Yeltsin and Antall also discussed the Russian debt to Hungary. It was decided to sign an agreement on the issue before year's end. This agreement will define the ways and rates of debt repayment, Balazs Laszlo said.

Kozyrev, Hungarian Foreign Minister Discuss Yugoslavia

LD1111234292 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Under the aegis of the official visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, a meeting took place today between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries, Geza Jeszenszky and Andrey Kozyrev.

In connection with the south Slav conflict [Yugoslavia], Jeszenszky called attention to the dangerous situation of the Hungarians of Vojvodina [Vajdasag], as well as to the aggressive, anti-Hungarian, nationalist attitude of the present Serb leadership. The ministers emphasized the importance of the bilateral agreement that was signed on the protection of minorities.

[Begin Kozyrev recording in Russian fading into Hungarian translation] Our declaration is a contribution to the joint European efforts in order to take on aggressive nationalism and ethnic cleansings, be it in Yugoslavia, where it is being carried out with military means, or in Estonia or Latvia, where ethnic cleansing is also taking place in a less tough but impermissible way. Aggressive nationalism is a threat to other regions of Europe as well. Consequently, it is of extreme importance that Hungary

and Russia jointly act with initiative in defense of national minorities. [end recording]

Yeltsin Returns to Moscow After UK, Hungary Visits
LD1111203492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2020 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov—Russian President Boris Yeltsin returned to Moscow late this evening at the end of his official visits to Great Britain and Hungary.

ITAR-TASS Kills Aviation Security Agreement

Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1604 GMT on 10 November requests all reference to the "Memorandum of Understanding" between Russia and Great Britain regarding cooperation in civil aviation security be removed from the item headlined "Yeltsin Notes No Disagreements During Summit," published in the 10 November Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT, page 13, column two, second paragraph, last sentence.

Political Issues**Government Session Postponed Due to Gaydar's Late Return**

PM1111084192 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 0811 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Nov—The Russian Federation Government session planned for today has been postponed in connection with Yegor Gaydar's late return from a trip. This has been stated by the Republic's government press center. The acting chairman of Russia's Government returned late last night from a trip to North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic, where a state of emergency has been introduced into the zone of acute international conflict.

Yeltsin, Gaydar, Khasbulatov To Address Congress

LD1111232092 Moscow *Radio Rossii Network in Russian* 2100 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Russia's president will deliver a report to the People's Congress on all areas of Russian development—political, economic, foreign policy, defense, and others. A RIA correspondent was told this by Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

A second report, devoted to the legislative back-up and development of Russia, will be delivered by Ruslan Khasbulatov.

A third report, dealing with economic reform in the country, will be made by Yegor Gaydar.

Shumeyko Says No Personnel Changes in Government

LD1111214992 Moscow *Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian* 1800 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Report by Nataliya Chernysheva; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Chernysheva] One of the peculiar features of our state is that any phenomenon, including political ones, has to take place against a certain emotional background. Often it runs contrary to the law. Today's speech by Deputy Chelnokov, who called on the Supreme Soviet to deny executive power, is factually groundless, according to the first deputy prime minister of Russia.

[Begin First Vice Premier Shumeyko recording] I do not know where Mikhail Borisovich gets his information. I do not possess any information that we are preparing some state of emergency. [end recording]

[Chernysheva] Moreover, Vladimir Shumeyko believes that the hearing of the law on government is taking place

at the Supreme Soviet with violations of the current Constitution and the procedure for the work of the Supreme Soviet itself. On 6 November when holding a name vote, a female employee of the apparatus was pressing the buttons to cover up for two absent deputies. This practice is quite normal; it is not new to accredited journalists.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] This does not happen in any other parliament in the world. Nevertheless, the Supreme Soviet left this unnoticed, and, in my opinion, we will have to report this to the president and recommend him to refer to the Constitutional Court and not to examine this adopted law at all until the court has made a decision. [end recording]

[Announcer Sergey Dorenko] The first deputy prime minister can rightly be regarded as one of the most well-informed people in Russia. Today he lifted the veil of secrecy from the expected personnel changes in the government.

[Begin recording] [Chernysheva] Everyone is trying to guess the new government's composition. What changes will take place? Some names were leaked to the Civic Union; Russian patriotic forces had different names. Can you say anything specific?

[Shumeyko] Yes, I can absolutely specifically state that the composition will be the same as it is now. It is a single well-coordinated mechanism. Today no changes are needed in the government in order to proceed with the reforms. I know this unequivocally.

[Chernysheva] Not a single person?

[Shumeyko] Not a single person.

[Chernysheva] No one?

[Shumeyko] No one. [end recording]

Calls Law on Government Unconstitutional

OW1111195792 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1928 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The plenipotentiary presidential representative in the Russian Supreme Soviet, First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, declared that the law parliament passed on the Council of Ministers not only contradicts the principle of separation of powers, but it also makes it impossible for the government to work. Shumeyko presented his stance in an official announcement after parliament concluded the discussion of all amendments to the bill on the government which is under examination in its second reading. He called the deputies' attention to the fact that one of the president's amendments based on the Constitution was not adopted, but almost all amendments from people's deputies contradicting the Constitution were adopted.

If amendments to the Constitution are not made at the upcoming congress, the law will be incompetent, believes the first vice premier. He stressed that during the consideration of the bill a broader violation of regulations was made when an outsider voted for two absent Supreme Soviet members. Shumeyko officially stated that he had prepared a report to the president about sending a petition to the Constitutional Court on recognizing the law on the Council of Ministers as unconstitutional and demanding it be annulled due to gross violations of the regulations.

The final vote on the law and its adoption was postponed until Friday [13 November].

Urges Yeltsin Not To Sign Law

LD1111184592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1758
GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Russian Vice-Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko has urged President Boris Yeltsin not to sign the Law on the Russian Council of Ministers adopted by the parliament.

"The adopted law with all amendments runs counter to the principle of power delineation and makes the work of the government as an executive body accountable to the president impossible," Shumeyko stressed.

He said that if the Congress of People's Deputies opening in December does not adopt amendments to the present Constitution, the law will become invalid.

Shumeyko said he has prepared an appeal urging the Constitutional Court to consider the Law on the Council of Ministers as unconstitutional and annul the results of the voting on the law in the parliament which violated the established rules. He also called on the president to refrain from signing the law, pending a decision of the Constitutional Court.

Says Parliament Tries To Control Government

OW1111173392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told journalists during a Wednesday [11 November] conversation that Russian deputies are trying to "turn the government into an organ of the Supreme Council, with daily control of its activity." As a confirmation of his words, Shumeyko cited a parliament-approved addendum to draft legislation on the government in which it says that the legal basis of the work of the cabinet is the Constitution, laws, and the decisions of the Congress and the Supreme Council. "As a result, the very legal basis of the government disappears, since the

parliament passes resolutions every day, of which one may contradict the other," said the vice premier.

Shumeyko expressed the opinion that no changes in the government's staff would be made before the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies.

He also said that the parliament had become more conservative because many deputies had still not determined what form of government would follow socialism, and what form of state leadership would be most preferable. Shumeyko believes that Russia should become a presidential republic "because in order to carry out economic reform, strict, linear, and clear-cut authority is necessary."

Yeltsin Orders Foreign Ministry To Coordinate Overall Policy

OW1111145092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421
GMT 11 Nov 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the information received on Tuesday, President Boris Yeltsin signed a directive to ensure a uniform political course for Russia in international affairs. Under the document Russia's Foreign Ministry will coordinate and monitor the work of other ministries and departments in the area of foreign policy. DP [Diplomatic Panorama] asked the various establishments to comment on the President's resolution.

Vladimir Karpov, spokesman for the press bureau of Russia's Intelligence Service, has said that B. Yeltsin's resolution is timely and useful. "Everyone here, including parliamentarians, is given to saying whatever comes into his head," he noted. "According to the American press, one of them alleged recently that Bill Clinton had been connected with the KGB." In the meantime the Intelligence Service already coordinates many issues with the Foreign Ministry and "acts in concert with it", said V. Karpov. This happened, for instance, during the evacuation of Russian citizens from Afghanistan.

According to V. Karpov, B. Yeltsin's directive "doesn't mean" that the Intelligence Service will have to submit all its materials and documents to the Foreign Ministry "to be analysed and controlled", because "every establishment has to do its own work".

The situations when the Intelligence Service and the Foreign Ministry differ in their assessments are also possible, V. Karpov pointed out. But this isn't really bad, since it's essential for President B. Yeltsin "to have several sources of information" to be able to take "optimal decisions", V. Karpov said.

"The Foreign Ministry is not an agency capable of controlling the international activity of Russian ministries and departments," a high-ranking Defence Ministry official who preferred to remain anonymous told DP. "The Foreign Ministry cannot cope with this task," he declared.

According to him, at the moment there is no agency here capable of assuming the burden of this task. "Earlier these functions were performed by the international department of the former CPSU Central Committee," he said. According to the expert, now it's essential to set up a body, which, as the former CPSU Central Committee, would stand "above the foreign and other ministries". In his view, such a body could be established at the office of Russia's president, for instance.

The military official qualified as "unrealistic" the situation when "a ministry controls the work of other ministries". In these circumstances departmental interests might prevail over those of the state. "The Foreign Ministry's interests and Russia's interests sometimes fail to coincide."

"To entrust such an important task to the Foreign Ministry means to doom it to failure in advance," a high-ranking official from the Ministry for External Economic Relations (MEER), who also preferred to remain anonymous, told DP. In his view, "the Foreign Ministry cannot cope even with its own tasks; it cannot meet the requirements of diplomatic establishment". "It cannot do its own work, let alone the coordination of international activity for other ministries..." The MEER official agreed with the view of the military expert as to the need to set up "a supraministerial structure" to coordinate Russia's activity on the world scene. Such a structure should be "connected with the Foreign Ministry as little as possible", he added.

Fatherland Faction Seeks To Oust Gaydar From Post

OW111172792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The threat to democracy and glasnost in Russia does not come from the Supreme Council, but from the government, which threatens to dissolve representative organs of authority, said Boris Tarasov, the leader of the Fatherland parliamentary faction, at a Wednesday press conference. He warned that his faction would regard such an attempt as a coup d'etat, and would appeal to the Army and the people for support. "We are not a union parliament, and will not allow ourselves to be dismissed," said Tarasov.

At the coming Congress, Fatherland intends to join the Russian Unity bloc and demand the resignation of the Gaydar government and a change in the current course of economic and social transformation. According to Tarasov, Fatherland intends to support a bid by Union

of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs leader Arkadiy Vol'skiy to become prime minister. The faction's economic demands include state regulation of the economy, restoration of manufacturing, and stabilization of the ruble. Tarasov says that the actual value of the dollar is no more than 40-60 rubles. In order to establish such a rate of exchange, Fatherland proposes to base prices on raw materials and food. At the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, Fatherland intends to oppose the inclusion in the agenda of the question of private land ownership and a new constitution. Tarasov is convinced that the position of his faction is shared by the majority of generals and officers of the Russian Army.

Civic Union Criticizes Plan for Presidential Rule

LD1011142492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] The Civic Union Political Council has sharply criticized the proposal for introducing direct presidential rule in Russia and dissolving the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. A statement issued by the Political Council, reported by ITAR-TASS, notes that the constitution and law of Russia do not provide for such an option. Civic Union has called upon Russia's procurator general immediately to give a legal assessment of the calls for the establishment of direct presidential rule and to call a halt to any action in this direction.

Compromise With Government Said Goal

LD121111992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 11 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Civic Union is against any abrupt actions and any steps violating the balance of powers between various authorities, Vasily Lipitskiy, chairman of the Civic Union Political Council Executive Committee, said at today's press conference. Considering the current crisis of power and the acuteness of political contradictions that we are observing today, he stressed, all political forces in the country should strive for compromise:

[Begin Lipitskiy recording] Without a doubt we still support compromise. The only thing the president is striving for—he said it many times both in our country and abroad—is that the congress must be constructive and that it must not be allowed to turn into a skirmish. We equally regard as destructive and as negatively affecting the current situation both the calls for direct presidential power and proposals for the impeachment of the president or for the full resignation of the government at the congress. That is not the path that we must follow. [end recording]

Yeltsin Seen as Toughening Position

OW1111153892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vasilii Lipitskiy, one of the leaders of the "Civic Union" and the chairman of the popular party "Free Russia"'s board, declared at a press conference on Wednesday that the fate of the forthcoming Congress of the people's deputies should be resolved during the next week. "If the President makes certain steps and meets our proposals, and gives guarantees that he will fulfil his promises, then the congress will be held in a constructive spirit," Lipitskiy said. He also underlined that Yeltsin had little time left until November 15 to make the final choice because he needed 2 weeks for consultations with the deputies concerning the preparation of the congress.

Lipitskiy expressed his opinion that "there are certain grounds to believe that Boris Yeltsin has accepted the "Civic Union" proposals and has toughened his position." According to Lipitskiy, he does not think that this reaction has been instigated by leakage of information on staff rearrangements on the government proposed by "Civic Union" during its last meeting with the President. Vasilii Lipitskiy believes that the people close to the President, who were making short-hand records and were filming the meeting, are responsible for "the leakage" of the information, but not the representatives of the "Civic Union."

Reported Ambition for Power Denied

MK1211111992 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 12 Nov
92 p 1

[Lidiya Malash report: "Ahead of Congress: Who Divides Up Portfolios?"]

[Text] Vasilii Lipitskiy, chairman of the "Civic Union" executive committee, has tried to deny the rumors that "Civic Union" is dying to get its hands on power.

He spoke about "Civic Union" representatives' 90-minute meeting with the president, noting that no more than 10 minutes were spent on personnel issues. That is entirely in keeping with "Civic Union's" proposed concept: It should be a question of amending the reform policy rather than of ministerial portfolios.

However, it was "portfolios" that were the number one sensation, and lists of proposed "retirees" were even published. As V. Lipitskiy put it, none of the lists accords with reality. Contrary to press claims, there has been no "information leak" from "Civic Union" representatives. And one can hardly suspect the president of this since it was Boris Yeltsin who asked for there to be no comment on the personnel part of the Kremlin discussion. When asked by your KURANTY correspondent what might have been the origin of the unconfirmed report, Lipitskiy

replied that there were only members of Yeltsin's entourage present at this meeting in addition to "Civic Union" leaders and the president.

V. Lipitskiy thinks that this Kremlin meeting represented a kind of watershed after which a number of officials close to the president felt themselves under threat. Leaders of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and "Democratic Russia," and several provincial governors asked for direct presidential rule to be introduced in the country. "Civic Union" retaliated with a statement "On the Threat to Russia's Constitutional System." It says in particular that the president must "dissociate himself abruptly and unequivocally from the forces asking him to disregard his oath and his position as guarantor of the Constitution."

As you know, this "Civic Union" statement aroused disquiet in the West and some doubts in the IMF. The fact that "Civic Union" issued the statement the day before B. Yeltsin's visit to Britain is also disturbing. How "calculated" was this political move by "Civic Union?" Regrettably, V. Lipitskiy did not give your KURANTY correspondent a detailed response to this question.

So, it can be concluded that the president still does not see "Civic Union" as his ally, and the constructive opposition in turn is losing "its hopes for the president."

'Smena-New Policy' Not To Break With Civic Union

OW1011172692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707
GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press conference Tuesday [10 November] the leadership of the "Change-New Policy" movement refuted rumors circulating about the possibility that the movement may break from the Civic Union bloc. The rumors appeared after the Civic Union proposed changes in the government staff to the president.

One member of the Change policy council, Igor Muravyev, declared that this "attempt to split the Civic Union from within was organized by those forces in government who are opposed to corrections in the course of reforms." The movement was formed on the basis of the parliamentary faction Change-New Policy, and includes approximately 100 people's deputies of Russia, Moscow, and the Moscow region.

Another of the movement's leaders, Andrey Golovin, believes that Secretary of the Security Council Yuriy Skokov could become prime minister at the upcoming Congress of Peoples' Deputies, where one of the main issues will be the approval the government staff, since the current cabinet is leading the country along a disastrous course.

Call To Accept Civic Union Program*LD1011153792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1444
GMT 10 Nov 92*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—The main idea of the anticrisis programme, drawn up by the "Civic Union", is to set the economy in normal starting positions for its switch-over to a market system. This view was expressed today at a press conference arranged by the Political Council of the "Replacement-New Policy" Movement, recently formed on the basis of identical factions in the Russian parliament, the Moscow City Council and the Moscow Regional Council. The parliamentary faction is concurrently affiliated to the "Civic Union".

Sergey Polozkov, member of the Political Council, said the government's 9-months-long efforts have shown that "further advancement towards a market economy is impossible if we adhere to its course". "If our programme is not accepted," Polozkov stressed, "the economic situation will only deteriorate and the country will finally arrive at decisions suggested by the most extremist political forces."

"The union's anticrisis programme," Polozkov stated, "pursues the purpose of stopping the nation's pauperisation, preserving its production potential, reforming the economy structurally, consistently and wisely transforming property relationships, and achieving effective financial stabilisation."

The "Civic Union" intends to strive for these goals by fixing regulated prices for some goods and by regulating wages correspondingly. It is also necessary to renounce the idea of a deficit-free budget because, Polozkov believes, this is nothing but a fairytale in the present situation. Moreover, the government has actually given it up, too. The programme stipulates the restoration of the population's purchasing power, believing this to be very important. Therefore, it moves to index deposits in savings banks as of December 31, 1991.

Sterligov Rejects Report of Pact With Civic Union*OW1011172992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707
GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Russian National Sobor (Assembly), retired KGB General Aleksandr Sterligov, has renounced mass media allegations about his design to "join a broad alliance" with "Grazhdansky Soyuz" ("Civic Union") and begin a dialogue with President Yeltsin.

General Sterligov's statement which was released in Moscow Tuesday [10 November] contends that the proxies of the Russian national patriotic forces who

joined ranks with the Russian National Sobor have never considered an option of entering into any form of alliances with the Civic Union headed by Arkadiy Vol'skiy who is "constantly reiterating his acquiescence in the president's reform course".

The statement also notes that so long as "the so-called reforms initiated by the Russian president are aimed at devastating Russia as a state and impoverish the people", they do not find it possible to support the national patriotic movement.

Aleksandr Sterligov said that "in reality" the Russian national Sobor stands for the formation of the government of national confidence with the opposition forces united around the national patriotic movement. This objective can only be attained, the statement reads, through the "talks between the united opposition, the leadership of the RF [Russian Federation] Supreme Council and the president".

The leader of the Russian National Sobor opines that the National Salvation Front, as a form of organization of the opposition, least of all answers that purpose. The Russian National Sobor was not included in the Front's structure, for it deems the inception of a coordination committee as the most acceptable form for unity with the opposition forces.

In preserving its independence, the Russian national Sobor, however, "is not presenting any obstacles for attaining the goals of revival of Russia," General Sterligov's statement says.

'New Russia' Group Urges Pact for Civil Peace*OW1011173392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707
GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO; first paragraph as received]

[Text] The bloc "New Russia" has called on the Russian president, the government and all the political forces to conclude a "Pact for Forestalling Civil War". The "New Russia" - a nearly 15,000 people. The blocs composed of social-liberal oriented parties and movements, such as "Russia's Peasant Party, the People's Party, the Russian Social Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party of Russia, the Social Liberal Alliance, the "Young Russia" union and the Christian Democratic Union.

The 15,000 strong bloc is represented in the Russian parliament by 10 deputies.

The bloc's call for the Pact was announced at a press conference Tuesday staged by its representatives who pointed to the danger of entangling Russia into a "chaos of civil warfare" emphasized the significance of civic peace and continuation of the reforms.

The authors of this document want the Pact to be signed by various forces including those of diametrically opposite orientation. It proposes that its signatories would not resort to the use of weapons and violence for attaining their political objectives.

Proposes Broad Political Pact

MK1111151092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 2

[Yelena Tregubova report: "'New Russia' Proposes Non-aggression Pact"]

[Text] The "New Russia" bloc (the Peasants', Social-Democratic, and People's Parties, the Christian-Democratic Union, and others) has called on Russia's parties and movements to sign a "pact to prevent a civil war." They would undertake the following commitments: "not to resort to weapons to achieve political ends under any circumstances; and to act in all situations strictly in accordance with the law and democratic procedures."

"We call on everyone to sign—from nationalists, communists, and democrats to the president," the authors of the "pact" explained at their news conference yesterday. Boris Orlov, leader of the Russian social democrats, is convinced that, unlike the Germany of 1945, Russian reformers will one way or another have to rely on forces that formerly worked actively for the totalitarian system.

Reformers Down, Opposition Up in Recent Survey

OW1011200992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1929 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of independent experts have sent the president and the government of the Russian Federation an analysis of the political climate among people's deputies. An Interfax correspondent learned that those conducting the research came to the conclusion that in recent times the forces in opposition to the government and the president have gained significant strength, while at the same time the reformist corps of the people's deputies has weakened. According to the analysis, the president and the government can count on the support of no more than 20% of the deputies. The analysts believe the reformers could have a chance for success at the congress only if "they break the scenario of congress attached to right-left opposition. This could be achieved only if the central issue at the congress is the land reform issue." The experts also propose not allowing "the formal rotation [of] the Supreme Soviet composition at the congress, since under the current arrangement of forces in regional deputation, rotation will inevitably lead to the elimination primarily of reforms deputies from the number of Russian Supreme Soviet members." They also advise not allowing the president's powers for forming a structure of federal organs of acting power to be taken away.

Reform Coalition's Recent Failures Analyzed

PM1211112192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Nov 92 First Edition p 1

["Weekly Review" by parliamentary observer Aleksandr Linkov: "Radicals Losing Positions and Support"]

[Text] The parliamentary Reform Coalition recently made desperate attempts to influence the course of events and to channel them in the direction it needs. Above all, the idea of postponing the work of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies was persistently advanced, although the Supreme Soviet has already rejected it. It pinned certain hopes on a conference of its supporters from among the corps of deputies, which was held last week. Trying to substantiate the need to hold the Congress next spring, one of the leaders—S. Yushenkov—spoke of the danger of concentrating all power in parliament.

These arguments, however, did not elicit any particular support from the participants. As V. Podoprigora, chairman of the Committee for Questions of Interpublic Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation, reasonably remarked at the time, it is time to take a realistic look at what is happening. It is necessary to think about what to take to the Congress so as to lead the majority. A people's deputy who spoke there—the director of a large enterprise—declared simply and intelligibly: Why are you so concerned about the reforms? There is no need to save them. They are already under way and are irreversible, so let us resolve things so that they proceed still better.

During the days of the conference's work the Reform Coalition unexpectedly received a telling blow from its own recent confederates, who were once present at the founding of the coalition but then left it—from representatives of the "Free Russia" and "Left Center" parliamentary factions. Along with others, they now reflect the interests of the "Civic Union" bloc in the Supreme Soviet. As is known, the Russian president received its leaders. The talks may be regarded as a major political victory for the centrists. Presenting Boris Yeltsin with a 55-page document containing a plan of corrections to the economic reform, the leaders of "Civic Union" also made direct proposals on cadre changes in the government. They thereby proclaimed themselves a political force capable of influencing the course of events.

Such a development of events was hardly predicted by the Reform Coalition's analysts—for a similar meeting between "Civic Union" and the Russian president had been planned for 5 October. But at that time the authorities advanced a demand that L. Ponomarev, G. Yakunin, and other coalition leaders who are opponents of the centrists must participate in it. The centrists wished to conduct the conversation without go-betweens. It took place almost one month later. The coalition was no longer able to influence the course of the talks.

Why did the president give in? Representatives of the Reform Coalition at once tried to ascertain this. At the meeting with them Boris Yeltsin apparently reassured his most radical supporters: The government will survive, and he will not give up Gaydar. While being satisfied with that remark, nevertheless at the end of last week the coalition tried once again to place on the agenda of the Russian Supreme Soviet session the question of postponing the Congress. Although it was clear to anyone that they would not meet with support.

What can account for the failures of the parliamentary Reform Coalition? Probably the lack of a strategic goal. Its prestige is also hit hard by this circumstance: It frequently follows thoughtlessly in the wake of Gaydar's policy. You get the impression that this parliamentary group simply lobbies the radical part of the government, not bothering with an independent analysis.

The coalition's present policy could cost it heavily at the Congress itself. Although it is holding the "Democratic Choice" forum in November, convening a conference of the Russian intelligentsia, and hurriedly trying to get signatures for a referendum to be held on private land ownership, much could prove belated. Overstrained by measures, the coalition will probably greet the Congress with proposals which will not meet with its support.

Academicians Discuss Flaws in Current Power Structure

MK1211104792 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 45-46, 15 Nov 92 (Signed to Press 10 Nov 92) pp 8-9

[Unattributed report of meeting of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Founders Council: "What Is Your Opinion of Political Situation Ahead of Congress of Russian People's Deputies?"]

[Excerpt] What is your view of the political situation ahead of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies? This question was discussed at a session of the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Founders Council opened by the newspaper's chief editor Len Karpinskiy.

Academician Nikolay Petrakov:

I think that one of the most serious problems facing us now is the dubious legitimacy of the incumbent authorities (with the exception of the president, who was elected by the whole people—and there can be no question about that).

Let us take a look at the other structures. The people's deputies were elected in a different historical era, at a time when there was no multiparty system, in a different country altogether. The government formed on the basis of the president's emergency powers is also quite illegitimate. It is not accountable to anyone but the president and overtly states this fact... They hang on to the president like a balloon pulling them upward. Their lack of legitimacy gives rise to irresponsibility. And this

irresponsibility results in such moves as announcing the transition to the second phase of reform without having fulfilled a single promise from the first phase.

In this situation I consider the talk of a presidential republic particularly dangerous. I think that there can be no presidential republics in our country, with its legacy. That would mean certain dictatorship.

Pavel Bunich, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences:

The fact that particular attention has been drawn to the National Salvation Front on the eve of the Congress, and a special edict issued, creates the illusion that the Front is of great significance. But that is totally alien to the true state of affairs. By and large there is virtually no threat from a "black force." There is the threat from a "gray force"—people trying to preserve elements of the old system without demanding a total reversal. What, for instance, is the meaning of the demands for heavy industry to be kept unprivatized? This represents 40 percent of the state sector and, if left unprivatized, smacks of the command economy! In this sense better any changes in the government but retain market policy at all costs. [passage omitted]

Poltoranin: Government Problems Not To Be Exaggerated

LD1111112192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1809 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Zagnoiko]

[Text] Lipetsk, Central Russia, November 10 TASS—"One should not dramatize the political and economic situation in Russia" Russian Vice-Premier Mikhail Poltoranin told the Lipetsk public here today.

The country has begun moving towards the market, being backed up with the economy 80 per cent of which was the military-industrial complex, said the official. "Within a year we have managed to hold structural changes. Thus, things are not so bad about the government, as many try to picture."

Estimating the results of a constructive conversation attended by industrial heads, representatives of commercial structures, farmers and deputies, Poltoranin told ITAR-TASS "we had an interesting exchange of opinions, various points of view have been expressed. But the main thing is that people support the reforms and the strategic course of the president.

"There was also criticism, including pronouncements the mechanism of radical transformations has not been sufficiently elaborated. Thus, an adequate reaction is needed to ensure support of enterprise and social protection of the population. The government and broad layers of society are unanimous in understanding of these tasks".

Yeltsin's 'Image Maker' Interviewed

PM1111130592 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in
Russian 7 Nov 92 First Edition pp 1, 8

[Interview with Pavel Belenko by Andrey Zhdankin; place, date not given: "Yeltsin Always Ready To Shake Your Hand"]

[Text] Francois Mitterrand had to have his front teeth filed down because they made him look aggressive. "You will never get into the Elysee Palace (the president's residence—author's note) with fangs like those," Jacques Seguela, an image maker and leading specialist in political publicity campaigns, advised him.

Former U.S. President George Bush liked playing the piano when in the circle of his family, but at the experts' insistence he assiduously kept this fact from outsiders. Aristocratic and intellectual tendencies could be misinterpreted by ordinary voters.

One could name a whole galaxy of artistic names whose public image was created by professionals.

An image maker is someone who specializes in making someone look good. Image makers are essential to election campaigns. Every contender for office has in his team several professionals of this kind. Their recommendations are obeyed virtually unquestioningly.

In this sphere, as in many others, we still lag a long way behind the West but the "process is under way." No one is surprised any more at attempts by businessmen in this country to "mold" a favorable image for themselves with the help of specialists. It is good that state figures are taking note of this, too.

A professional psychologist worked with Boris Yeltsin when the latter was chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. He is Pavel Belenko. By chance he was on the spot when outsiders were being most rigorously denied access. With his help we have a rare opportunity to take an insider's view of the machinations of political life (he had to wait a long time for permission to talk to journalists). Since our interviewee is a professional psychologist, readers should be advised against attempting a literal or amateur interpretation of his many views, judgments, and comments.

[Zhdankin] How did you become part of Yeltsin's team?

[Belenko] Part of the team—that is a bit too strong. Before Boris Nikolayevich's memorable speech on television on 19 February his experts were in a state of panic. They began looking for a professional psychologist. They tested one and asked him to tidy up Yeltsin's speech. After he had done so the experts considered it even worse than before. The experts chose me because of purely personal ties: Like them and Yeltsin himself, I hail from Siberia. They did not want a Moscow specialist on principle, to ensure that the nominee had no links with the KGB or groupings in the capital...

They offered us the job but kept it secret from Boris Nikolayevich. Our team consists of three people: two professional psychologists and a specialist in government.

The television performance, like the first pancake, was not a great success, we thought; by no means everything in it worked.

[Zhdankin] For example?

[Belenko] The team that worked with Yeltsin included no well-known journalists who might have been sympathetic to him, instead Central Television insisted on Lomakin as interviewer. We should have been in the studio to provide support but we were not allowed.

[Zhdankin] What did you and your team work on?

[Belenko] Our task was to unfetter the man because every major leader has good reserves he can call on. Yeltsin was like a rock at that time—motionless, his shoulders, head, and neck rigid. He comes across better when he "lives" and begins to move because he himself is a charming man. We insisted that he should be more mobile even to the point that his chair should be on castors.

We corrected the texts, we found the best position in the auditorium, we worked on mimicry, gestures, dress...

Before we came along the experts banned him from moving the hand with two fingers missing. We, on the other hand, asserted that he had to be natural and forget about his hand. Our advice was accepted and we did not hear a single negative response from outsiders.

[Zhdankin] What did correcting the texts involve?

[Belenko] We did not interfere in political matters, of course, and from the viewpoint of the psychologist's perception we tried to extract the maximum effect from what Yeltsin himself wanted to say. Another area of work was to eliminate the confrontation with Gorbachev because the people had grown tired of the Yeltsin-Gorbachev conflict by then.

[Zhdankin] Can you give us a specific example?

[Belenko] Boris Nikolayevich's speech at the Third Congress contained a phrase to the effect that he was no longer in conflict with Gorbachev but then gave four conditions on which he was ready to "meet" Gorbachev. Those who were rather afraid of Yeltsin would undoubtedly have latched onto the second part of the speech and the overall impression would have been negative. I convinced the expert that these conditions had to be omitted and that some parts of the speech had to be rewritten.

Psychology distinguishes between two types of father-figures: One is the authoritarian who metes out punishment; the other provides help, sympathy, and support. Yeltsin used to be the "father wielding the rod," the only

kind that the communist system raised. Our general line was to mold the image of a "wise father." Subconsciously at that time he had the attitude of a "rebellious youth;" we tried to help him eradicate that.

[Zhdankin] What good qualities is Yeltsin perceived to have, and which ones are not very good?

[Belenko] His main positive quality is his great personal charm. When he speaks freely and passionately he creates a very good impression and really "inspires" people.

Previously he spoke quite badly in public. He comes from Siberia and his speech has retained the influences of dialect and colloquialisms. Valentina Lantseva, former press secretary and a professional television journalist, worked on his worst aspects and tried to correct them.

[Zhdankin] Does Yeltsin still have the style of a party official?

[Belenko] At the moment he does. But there is a positive element to that style: They (the party apparatchiks) know how to communicate with the people as brothers, how to shake their hand, how to smile. Yeltsin, by the way, has a good memory for faces. He is always sincerely ready to shake hands with people, even those of no great significance, he is no snob, and never looks down his nose at people.

But that party style also contains a negative element, for example, being accustomed to the unconditional subordination of those around you: If the leader speaks, everyone rushes to obey. This also affects one's attitude to one's aides.

[Zhdankin] There are two women on your team. How do women react to men like Yeltsin?

[Belenko] The creation of a favorable image requires a woman's view as well as a man's. The president is tall, he dresses well, he conducts himself well. He is a bit of a sport: He has played a lot of volleyball. Now he plays tennis although I think that it would be better for him to go swimming (given his present life style and work load). But he was advised to play tennis by his physicians, who also took into account questions of image, because this is a sport befitting political figures of his rank and stature.

From the woman's viewpoint, as a man of the aggressive type he is very sexual. Any leader can be perceived as a sexual type; a large number of women could even attribute to him uncharacteristic qualities, and the perception on the whole is definitely positive.

[Zhdankin] How did the lessons with Boris Nikolayevich go?

[Belenko] There were no lessons as such. We studied his speeches on film and then gave recommendations in writing. The footage where Yeltsin appeared in "all his glory" was not cut or censored. During the congresses, for example, we gave such recommendations daily via

his experts. They told us that Yeltsin kept them next to his heart, in the jacket pocket where he had his most important documents.

[Zhdankin] Did you receive any responses or other reaction?

[Belenko] In writing, no. But after the first recommendations he asked that the authors be introduced to him personally. Afterward he shook our hands several times during sessions (we sat in the hall) and greeted us during encounters in the corridor. He was well-disposed toward our work. He is prepared to know the whole truth about himself, is ready to change, and, most importantly, has survived the ills of "stardom." Unfortunately, because of the people around him, we were unable to do a great deal: We were not allowed to establish direct contact. Only the purely official sphere remained.

[Zhdankin] Is Yeltsin a good pupil?

[Belenko] Yes, he picks things up quickly and easily. He would not have become leader had he been a mediocre pupil. When I watch recordings of his 1989 speeches and compare them with today's I see a big difference: The president has now become more delicate, subtle, and thoughtful. The progress is very marked. It is interesting that Gorbachev changed very little throughout the whole time he was the center of attention.

[Zhdankin] Did he have a similar consultant?

[Belenko] I specially looked into this, and it turns out that he did not.

[Zhdankin] What was your last "top-level" job?

[Belenko] A regular program called Hour with the President was planned at the start of the summer; we prepared recommendations for it, but it went out only once.

[Zhdankin] Why?

[Belenko] Perhaps the president decided that there is no point in being seen on the television screen in our uncertain times.

[Zhdankin] Image is a public perception, but what is Yeltsin like in a domestic, unofficial setting?

[Belenko] He is a good-natured, considerate, unselfish person... Now, as before, he has no expensive items at home. When he is given expensive presents, he distributes them without a moment's thought.

[Zhdankin] What is the president's image now?

[Belenko] He has almost left behind the mentality and the image of the "rebellious youth" and has become the "paternal leader."

[Zhdankin] Is a professional psychologist working with him now?

[Belenko] No, not as far as I know.

[Zhdankin] And what about other Russian leaders?

[Belenko] Burbulis has one. And progress has been marked. He comes across as milder and more flexible. Consultations with and coaching by a professional psychologist could help Khasbulatov a lot—to change his style with the unnecessary confrontation that is caused by the stylistic features of his utterances and the way his behavior looks.

[Zhdankin] Have you been able to work with any other Russian leaders?

[Belenko] I worked with Rutskoy for two weeks during the election campaign. Then, as was the case with Yeltsin, I started to be pushed aside. This was done by Rutskoy's aide, Perfilov, who is now the vice president's official aide. He tried to set conditions from the outset of our work—recommendations were to go only through him, but we insisted that they should go direct, personally to Rutskoy. I would shut myself up with Rutskoy in his office and analyze the mistakes in his speeches on videotape.

[Zhdankin] How did he react?

[Belenko] He listens with interest, even with pleasure, like a woman who is being paid compliments.

[Zhdankin] Is liking yourself a negative trait?

[Belenko] Not at all. We teach many leaders this specially: to like yourself while not being blind to your faults, otherwise such an attitude could develop into self-admiration.

[Zhdankin] How do you rate the way sessions were conducted by former Union Parliament Speaker Lukyanov? Many people saw him as a professional.

[Belenko] He is a master of the craft and manipulated the hall in virtuoso fashion.

[Zhdankin] In such a discussion we cannot leave out Sobchak. In the Union parliament he stood out favorably from other speakers...

[Belenko] Outwardly he is effective, but he is not without shortcomings: He is unduly self-confident. For example, the raised index finger has long been known to psychologists as the gesture of someone who regards himself as a conduit between the forces at the top [vysshiye sily] and the people. A jutting chin creates the impression of a conceited person. In other regards his manner of behavior is close to the style of effective Western leaders.

[Zhdankin] Work with top leaders of state is certainly interesting, but it is nevertheless just an episode. What is your main activity? Say something about yourself.

[Belenko] I am now president of a private company—the "Gvidon" Center for Psychological and Management Consultancy—in Novosibirsk. We work with major businessmen and rising politicians and teach them how to be successful with people and in the marketplace.

[Zhdankin] Final question: How, in your opinion, will Yeltsin regard this article?

[Belenko] It will not be shown to him.

Federal Government Appointments Reported

PM1111160992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Nov 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] In connection with the election of Konstantin Grigoryevich Kagalovskiy as executive director of the IMF for the Russian Federation he has been released from his post as the Russian Federation Government's plenipotentiary representative for cooperation with international financial organizations. At the same time he has been confirmed as a nonstaff adviser to the chairman of the Russian Federation Government.

Kirill Nikolayevich Ivanov has been appointed first deputy chairman of the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development. At the same time he has been released from his duties as deputy chairman of the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development.

Dmitriy Vladimirovich Kuzmin has been appointed deputy chairman of the Russian Agency for International Cooperation and Development.

Ministerial Dismissals Linked to Nationalities Policy Flaws

MK1211102592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 45-46, 15 Nov 92 (Signed to Press 10 Nov 92) p 9

[Mikhail Shevelev report: "What Policy To Resign?"]

[Text] There have been three dismissals within the Russian leadership in a month: Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev as first deputy foreign minister; Valeriy Tishkov as chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Issues; and Galina Starovoytova as Russian presidential adviser for nationalities issues.

All three have long been an opposition target. Shelov-Kovedyayev was most often reproached for being insufficiently vigorous in defending the rights of ethnic Russians in the Baltic. The main complaint directed at Valeriy Tishkov concerns his being overly academic and lacking toughness. The reason for the dissatisfaction with Galina Starovoytova is her reluctance to use ethnic conflicts as a political instrument.

Over the last few weeks Russian policy has also changed. The troop withdrawal from the Baltics has been suspended and the border there has become a state one. Troops in Tajikistan remain under Russian jurisdiction. Military force has been used in the North Caucasus. (Galina Starovoytova's recommendation—"the Russian state must be neutral toward both parties in the conflict

in North Ossetia"—was not carried out). The president decided to use Georgiy Khizha and Sergey Shakhray on nationalities policy instead of Shelov-Kovedyayev, Tishkov, and Starovoytova. Shakhray's legal qualifications and his personal affection for the president are in no doubt, although, as Starovoytova puts it, "he consulted us on all matters pertaining to nationalities policy." Georgiy Khizha's trip to the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone is reminiscent of another mission—Arkadiy Volskiy's to Nagorno-Karabakh in 1988—down to the frightening details.

As with the Karabakh conflict, the Ingush-Ossetian clashes have developed out of Stalin's territorial and ethnic repartition. The half-hearted, ill-considered promises of expediency that the Russian authorities have made to all parties since 1990 are identical to Soviet lack of policy in the Transcaucasus and were bound to result in bloodshed.

The chaos that set in as a result in the Transcaucasus was evidently not enough of a convincing lesson. In this case it is not important who is in Staraya Ploshchad—Shakhray, Starovoytova, Lebed [14th Army commander], or Khizha.

Air Transport Group Wants Independence From Ministry

PM1011114392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Igor Andreyev report: "Air Transport Department Demands Independence from Russian Ministry of Transport"]

[Text] The council of this department, created on the ruins of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation just one year ago, has adopted a decision to "deem it expedient to set up a unified state administration organ for Russia's civil aviation, directly subordinate to the Russian Federation Government."

The leadership of the department, which is the intermediary link between civil aviation itself and the government, is of the opinion that the Russian Federation Ministry of Transport is hindering the sector's development. The current management structure is excessively complex and inefficient. The document adopted by the department also notes that "there are signs of incomprehensible patronage for certain commercial structures" by the Ministry of Transport.

And here is the latest news report: By a government decision, Department Director A. Larin has been relieved of his duties.

Sobchak: Changes to Government, Reforms Needed

OW1111050192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1929 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak believes that amendments have to be made to the program of Russian reforms and the composition of the Cabinet changed. He said the changes must be made before the opening of the 7th Congress of People's Deputies.

Sobchak described the government's policy of liberalization of prices as primitive. He believes that the road to a market lies through a mixed economy of the transitional period, implying the existence of a state sector.

Sobchak says Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Stanislav Shatalin and Nikolay Petrakov are serious opponents to the current Cabinet. "I agree with all comments and proposals made by Yavlinskiy. His is the most realistic policy", said Sobchak. He confirmed that Yavlinskiy had agreed to participate in the development of a package of reforms for St. Petersburg. He will be able to start the project as soon as he finishes work in Nizhniy Novgorod. Probably Sobchak and Yavlinskiy will have a meeting next week.

Calls for Strict Policy in Caucasus

OW1111135992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1158 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak says that a clear-cut and very strict policy in the Caucasus is needed to prevent the fire of civil war from spreading to Russia. He calls current policy in the region incomprehensible, and believes that the conflicting parties thus blame Russia for the suffering there. "We must make a firm decision regarding the fate of the Russian-speaking population," emphasized Sobchak in an exclusive interview with INTERFAX, "since in Chechnya, Georgia, Abkhazia—everywhere, Russian-speaking hostages are being used as a trump card to put pressure on Russia. We must openly and firmly announce that we will defend our citizens and that we are ready to do everything in our power to guarantee their security." Simultaneously, says Sobchak, we must present these people with a choice: "Either you will continue to live in these countries under their laws, or you will return to Russia and we will give you land and homes and help you find apartments, and we will arrange for compensation from those countries which you have left." It will also be necessary to deliberate over the terms under which those countries which have declared independence wish to live, said the mayor. "We must announce that Russia does not plan to feed anyone or to pay their debts, and that their independence also means independence from Russia's budget."

Journalist Says Gaydar Acts on Northerners' Concerns

OW1111135692 Magadan Radio Magadan in Russian 1945 GMT 5 Nov 92

["Commentary" by journalist Sergey Sadetov from the "Kray News" newscast]

[Text] Does the Russian Government remember the North? Do Northerners' requests reach the government? What is the government's response to these requests, and to the problems of our oblast's social and economic development? These questions are dealt with in a commentary by journalist Sergey Sadetov.

[Begin Sadetov recording] A recent visit to our oblast by a government delegation headed by Yegor Gaydar invoked a fair amount of skepticism among many residents of the North in terms of their attitude toward the top leadership. After all, what serious good can come from a visit that lasted only a few hours? I will not discuss this issue, but instead I will try to demonstrate that one cannot directly associate the attention our government is paying to Northerners' problems with the amount of time government officials actually breathe Northern air.

The press, radio, and television have repeatedly reported on the many questions put to the government delegation and to Gaydar himself during the memorable two-hour conference. Let me just remind you of the main points. We have long and persistently demanded the right to control part of the gold we produce, to develop our own jewelry industry, and to create a hard currency security fund to be used as insurance for foreign credits. We have insisted on the oblast being granted the right to allocate quotas and issue licenses for marine biological resources. Also, we have insisted on extending non-interest, refundable loans of up to 300,000 rubles per family to residents of evacuated settlements to guarantee their social security. Gold miners and the oblast administration attempted to get credits of between \$130 million and \$150 million to increase gold ore production, and the question on defining the status of collective teams [arteli] and the taxing of these teams was also vividly presented. These were our concerns, but what were the responses? According to the documents I have—and these documents are printed on special Russian Government stationery—Gaydar assigned tasks to members of the government on each of these questions within a week of his visit to Magadan, and he has allocated 20 days for the implementation of the tasks. [end recording]

'Working Moscow' Leader Anpilov Interviewed

PM121111592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 92
pp 1, 2

[Interview with "Working Moscow" leader Viktor Anpilov by Aleksandr Golovenko; place, date not given: "The Irrepressible Anpilov in His Own Words"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] There are few people today who remember that after last year's August coup and the unbridled anticommunist hysteria, "Working Moscow," led by Viktor Anpilov, was one of the first to speak up in defense of the party and the working man. Since then his name has been on the lips of many people—from metalworkers at the Automobile Plant named for the Lenin Komsomol to

the Russian president. He receives absolutely diametrically opposed ratings. I have been closely following this young politician of the new school for more than a year now. I think that our conversation will help readers understand the "irrepressible Anpilov" better. We agreed to talk as one journalist to another simply and clearly, without superfluous theorizing.

[Golovenko] Viktor Ivanovich. Why did you leave journalism for the political big time?

[Anpilov] You will agree that this is not the first time in history that journalists have become professional politicians. We have much more knowledge about life than, for example, a thermophysicist or an armchair theoretician specializing in developed socialism.

As a commentator for State Television and Radio I saw that the mass media, orchestrated by Politburo Member A. Yakovlev, had set about distorting our history and slandering it, especially since 1989. The slander of real achievements and of our system and the attempts to attach to it such labels as "barracks socialism," the "evil empire," and "totalitarian state" provoked an inward protest in me.

Socialism gave me personally everything (as, incidentally, it did A. Yakovlev): I had the opportunity to study for free—from technical college to Moscow State University. I consider that it was the working class which educated me, and so I cannot look on indifferently as they begin to spit on the honest working man and call him a "slave," a "sheep," or a "Sharikov" [character in Bulgakov story].

I began to publish the newspaper MOLNIYA in order to unmask this so-called democracy. Then I became a deputy in Moscow City Soviet.

[Golovenko] Over the past year you have stood out as a clear political leader. But, to be blunt, people's attitudes toward you are mixed. The Moscow rallies are beginning to annoy many people. Tell me, have they had any effect?

[Anpilov] People do not wish to be the playthings of another team of experimenters—this is why they go out into the squares to register a protest. But saying that they "annoy" people is putting it mildly. Our demonstrations, in which hundreds of thousands of working people take part, enrage those who one way or another are party to the inhumane reforms and our country's dismemberment. We are issuing a challenge from the podiums to these acts of lawlessness, and people are supporting us. But can we expect compliments from the "architects" and "superintendents of perestroika": Gorbachev, Yakovlev, and Shevardnadze—these bankrupt politicians who are guilty of monstrously impoverishing the people and of bloodshed? Today, on the orders of this very same unsinkable friend of Gorbachev and Baker, combat aircraft are bombing Soviet cities and sowing death in Abkhazia. Why should we remain silent?

I realize that you cannot stop the bombings with rallies alone. However, the mass protests by Moscow's working people on 17 March, 1 May, 9 May, and 7 October, when a total of more than a million people marched under the red flag, put hope in the hearts of hundreds of millions. They proved that Soviet people are not broken and that the struggle against the imposition of capitalism and forced colonization of our homeland is continuing.

[Golovenko] Since the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party were banned, the communists have not been sitting twiddling their thumbs. Masses of parties with socialist leanings have appeared. You are a member of the Russian Communist Workers Party Central Committee, which some people regard as an organization which exists only "on paper." Can you refute this statement? Have you any links with the masses, with labor collectives?

[Anpilov] Yes, we have. The Russian Communist Workers Party is capable of carrying out actions in 80 Russian cities simultaneously. Such was the case on 17 March and 24 October this year when we held our second All-National Assembly [veche]. Protest actions took place in dozens of Russian cities apart from Moscow. This will also be the case 7 November—the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

President B. Yeltsin, in violation of the constitution, banned the activities of working people's political organizations in enterprises. We advocate the repeal of this edict and are fighting for the formation of primary party organizations outside plant and factory gates.

We have a fairly extensive network for distributing newspapers. MOLNIYA goes to dozens of the Union's cities. We can also assist PRAVDA; we know that the "democrats" are stifling it all over.

[Golovenko] Tell me, after the front-line soldiers were beaten up on Tverskaya Street 23 February, was it necessary to organize another action in June at Ostankino? After all, you can see that the authorities do not stop at shedding blood.

[Anpilov] Let me start off by saying that it was not only war veterans who had come to lay wreaths and flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The Special-Purpose Militia Detachment troops beat not only them. The Komsomol standard bearer German Lopatin, whom they viciously beat up, was not yet 17 years of age. Second, it is a mistake to present the veterans as weak-willed people who follow anybody. I am proud of the fact that there were such people as Anatoliy Ivanovich Petukhov—a participant in the assault on Berlin—in the front rows of the siege of the "empire of lies" at Ostankino. We should not forget that, after the epic at Ostankino, representatives of the capital's opposition and the Leningrad Workers' Council gained access to the airwaves (each Wednesday after "600 Seconds"), and that "Working Tomsk" and other groups are receiving access.

[Golovenko] Explain the basis of the Russian Federation president's threat at a press conference that a criminal case had been brought against you. It seems that you did something wrong in Tula.

[Anpilov] So far I have not received an indictment from anyone. The Russian president is putting unprecedented pressure on the law-enforcement agencies to force them to bring a criminal case against me without any grounds whatsoever. In Tula I publicly accused the Russian leader of flouting the will of the people expressed in the nationwide referendum on 17 March 1991, and of violating the USSR Constitution, which no one has repealed. I spoke in favor of restoring Soviet power and law, in accordance with which people who have robbed their own people should be behind bars. The president offends my honor by calling me a criminal. I am clean as far as the law is concerned. Let the investigators find criminals where they really exist.

[Golovenko] I have to admit that the following coincidences also struck me: On 9 February you go out to a rally on Manezhnaya Square and on the same day the "patriotic forces" meet at a movie theater. On 12 June you hold a rally at Ostankino and the same forces gather at the Hall of Columns. You hold an All-National Assembly 24 October and on the same day the National Salvation Front's organizing committee convenes its congress in a cozy hall in the parliamentary center. Both they and you are the opposition. Don't these coincidences seem strange to you?

[Anpilov] I am sure that some people want the patriotic movement exclusively to be under the "white" flags. This is the origin of the "accidental" coincidences, which disorient people and give rise to a mass of rumors. Recently many newspapers and magazines which have declared themselves to be the "sole defenders of the fatherland" have had a dirty anti-Leninist, anticommunist campaign running in their pages. The leaders of assemblies who only recently carefully cherished their party cards and secured a career for themselves thanks to this very card are suddenly stating that they "must part company with the communists" and that "Lenin did nothing with his own hands and only knew life from books."

Is this not why the "National Salvation Front's" declaration skirts the controversial issues raised by life itself? Where is their attitude toward "voucherization"—this mean deception of the people? Will the "Front" fight to restore the Soviets' power in the interests of the workers, peasants, and all working people? The "National Salvation Front" organizing committee stated that it is necessary to form a "government of national salvation." But we insist on the same thing, that it is necessary to remove from power the present antipeople government and form a Soviet Government at a worker and peasant congress. The attempt to hide behind liberal blather about the impossibility of a "return to an administrative-edict system" is unconvincing. The terminology is all too familiar.

I was once forced to walk out ostentatiously of a meeting of the "Moscow" deputies group with Yu. Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. For the very reason that Yuriy Anatolyevich, when describing socialism, peppered his speech with such phrases as "administrative-edict system," "totalitarian regime," "diktat of the one-party system," and so on. Such a simplistic, philistine view of history since the October Revolution deserves to be condemned. Where is he now, this former leader of the Moscow communists?..

We are in no hurry to conclude short-lived alliances. All the more so when there is not a single worker or peasant among those who signed the "front's" document.

[Golovenko] Let us be more precise about what you mean by Russian patriotism.

[Anpilov] I am a Russian, but I am not going to beat my chest about it. I consider that a real communist is a patriot, and a real patriot will never allow himself to attack communists.

Yes, we do have differing views of the world. We communists differ in that we are against private ownership of the land, plants, and factories, and are against exploitation of man by man. We insist on this and will continue to do so. But our patriots today are ideologically vulnerable. For example, about two years ago they started to speak powerfully of Sergiy Radonezhskiy as a pure symbol of Russian spirituality. But two years have now passed, and we see the same faces around the figure of the venerable sage: Yeltsin, Luzhkov, Rutskoy... The "democrats" have suddenly begun to make a show of crossing themselves and call on us to have patience and kiss the hands of swindlers, both our own and foreign ones.

It is not surprising that this hypocritical campaign makes no mention of another name—that of Dmitriy Donskoy. Why? Well, because this saint canonized by our church summons us not to obedience but to fight for the homeland. In the summer of 1380 he gathered together an armed retinue and set out against the enemy. Dmitriy succeeded in persuading the independent princes to ride together when they were still about 100 versts away from a meeting with the venerable Sergiy.

I am not a supporter of servile patriotism. My ideal is Dmitriy Donskoy in glory on a rearing horse, sword flashing in his hand and holding his invincible retinue's military standard.

[Golovenko] Your nomination as mayor of Moscow by the human chain of defenders of the Lenin Museum brought a smile to many faces...

[Anpilov] At first they smiled, then, when instead of 300 voters 1,500 people came to support me at a meeting in Oktyabrskiy Rayon, some of them began to splutter. The Supreme Soviet was forced to refuse Moscow City

Soviet's demand to carry out elections for the administration head in the city on 5 December, but I think that they will take place, as that is the decision of Moscow City Soviet.

The "democrats" are afraid of the elections. Any elections. They have cheapened the idea of representative power. First G. Popov ran off. Then Sergey Stankevich, first deputy chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, "snuck off." Who will report back to the citizens who elected them as USSR people's deputies, and later as deputies of Moscow City Soviet? Why does this question not bother anybody? I am sure that without genuine Soviet power, the power of the workers and peasants, Russia's working intelligentsia will not be able to put its own house in order, defend its sovereignty, and climb out of the pit into which the reformers are increasingly pushing us.

Commentary on Lasting Impact of October Revolution

PM1111093192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 92 p 1

[Aleksandr Golts article: "'We Are All Children of October'—This Old Formula Is Still Largely True Today"]

[Text] For all that, it is good that this holiday remains on our calendar. And in order to rejoice in this fact it is not at all necessary to be a blinkered apologist for the communist ideology. That is not the point. For all of us, except babies, 7 November is the main holiday of the same state in which we have lived most of our lives. In retaining it among memorable Russian dates, legislators have shown natural respect for millions and millions of people for whom this holiday is not only and not so much a symbol of a certain world outlook but rather a natural aspect of a customary way of life.

Maybe this is the first step toward Russia's finally ceasing to be a country with an unpredictable past. One wants to believe that we will end the bad tradition whereby every new authority deemed it its duty to rewrite the state's history anew, excluding some dates and people from it and including others. After all, it is with a reasonable and civilized attitude toward the past that a civilized present begins, and hope for a reasonable future appears.

Those people who keep repeating that the October Revolution was merely a successful attempt by an ill-intentioned small group of extremists—bribed by Germans, moreover—to deflect Russia from its true path, are degrading our people without actually realizing it. The people to whom they so zealously swear loyalty. What emerges, did great Russia believe in a 70-year-old deception until the very last moment? In this way it is possible to wipe out at a stroke the lives not only of past generations but also of generations still living which, whatever might be said, honestly built and honestly defended this country.

No, October 1917 was natural for Russian history. This is much more profound and tragic than other versions, for instance those "about ill-intentioned non-Russians." Yes, natural is precisely the right word. In exactly the same way as the Great Revolution was natural for France and the Civil War was natural for the United States. When the monarchy's disintegration and the Russian bourgeoisie's incapability became obvious, it was the Bolsheviks who advanced slogans promising the people the materialization of their age-old dream. The dream of universal collective justice. The dream so typical of our particular national consciousness. That is why a period of over seven decades was needed and why it was necessary to pass through the gulag hell and the sluggish drowsiness of stagnation in order to realize that prosperity does not occur as egalitarianism. Because in that case those who carry out distribution will be the ones to prosper.

But now it is equally important to realize something else: The difficult decades we have gone through are still with us. Whether anybody likes it or not, the formula "We are all children of October," apparently devised for purely propaganda purposes, is essentially true even today. It is known that our president is of worker and peasant stock, the head of government is actually the grandson of a Civil War hero, and among parliamentarians—the majority at least—"blue blood" is somehow not evident... Whatever attitude any of us Russian citizens has toward October now, our roots and the lines of our future are linked to it. We are who we are precisely because there was an October Revolution in 1917. This fact cannot be avoided or deleted. Ideas can be rejected and convictions changed. But facts cannot be denied.

Each of our life histories, just like the country's history, does not recognize drafts, which can be thrown away because of mistakes, untidy handwriting, or smudges. Therefore let us regard this history without blinkered rapture and without worship, but also without hysterical denial. If not with respect, then at least with understanding.

Furthermore, let us not forget that October is a fact not only of our Russian history and the history of the former Union republics. What happened in 1917, whether people like it or not, is of "world historical" significance, as people used to write several years ago. One can dispute whether the revolution in Russia opened a new period of world history. But in any case it is an indisputable fact that this revolution and the huge social experiment that followed it had a most profound effect on the entire course of events on our world in the 20th century. This is also acknowledged by many authoritative Western historians and political scientists.

Incidentally, countries which we now customarily call civilized offer enough examples worthy of imitation of a considered attitude toward the contradictory (they could not be anything else) events of the past. Thus France, which lived through a revolution, the Jacobin terror, the Napoleonic empire, and the Bourbon restoration, has

always—and not just nowadays—treated all protagonists of the historical drama with due respect. On virtually the same Paris street there are memorials to Louis XVI, the king who died on the block, and a leader of the Jacobins. As far as I am aware, nobody thought of demanding the abolition of the main national holiday—Bastille Day—because the Great Revolution turned into a really bloody dictatorship.

There is not and has not been a "war of memorials" in the United States. Nowadays General Grant gets along peacefully with General Lee both on city streets and on history textbook pages. No reasonable person would think of representing, for instance, northerners as angels and southerners exclusively as perfidious villains. Or vice versa. If the United States remembers the most tragic event in American history—the Civil War—it is only as a difficult experience that befell the nation on its way toward consolidation. Finally, General Franco, who cannot be described as one of the most enlightened people, had the political sense to erect a common memorial to all who perished in the Spanish civil war.

But we, it seems, have interpreted the idea of learning lessons from the past too one-sidedly, spinning out the debate over who is guilty for years. But maybe it is time to stop rubbing salt into the wounds and hysterically arguing about the heroes and villains of bygone days. Maybe in that case we would be able to look around and notice with alarm that what is happening now is reminiscent of October 1917. After all, there has already been something similar. The fall in production, shortage of food, mutually exhausting struggle between the executive and legislative branches, and elementary inability to organize business, which cannot be concealed by any flowery phrase. And people who will give simple and comprehensible answers and promise a lot are certainly to be found in these conditions...

Yes, we must respect our past. But this in no way means that we must repeat it blindly. Thus, do we need a new sudden and, let us say frankly, bloody turn in history? Whereby society is once again split, whereby people once again start making divisions into pure and impure or along class, ethnic, professional, or goodness knows what other lines. Whereby some people turn against others. I think that any person with common sense would say "no." I believe that Russian society has not wasted the opportunity for consolidation. Albeit on the basis of opposition to creeping violence (because today Russia is indeed in a ring of fronts, and blood is already being spilled on its lands).

That is why it is not worth scurrying to one of the numerous rallies—be it a rally "for" or a rally "against"—which are certainly being held today. Maybe, when sitting around a simple table that we have managed to get hold of, we will think that it is better that each of us must ensure that the worst things from our past do not return while the best stay with us.

Conflicts in Chechnya, Ingushetiya, N. Ossetia

Chechen Leader Threatens War on Troops

LD1011194692 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1902
GMT 10 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 10 TASS—Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev demanded that Russian troops leave Chechnya peacefully and threatened war against them if the troops remain where they are on Wednesday morning.

In an address to the population of Chechnya, which officially makes part of Russia, Dudayev called on the people "to rise and protect the independence of Chechnya".

He demanded that Russian crack troops "peacefully withdraw outside Chechnya" by Wednesday morning.

The Russian forces were deployed in Ingushetiya to ensure the state of emergency there, however, the Chechen leadership claimed that the troops have intervened into the Chechen territory.

There is no definite border between Chechnya and Ingushetiya after the former proclaimed independence and the Chechen-Ingush Republic broke in two parts. The Chechen leaders demand that the frontier be established according to 1934 borders.

The Executive Committee of the Congress of the Chechen people also called on the people to "immediately protect their state".

Chechen Parliament on Russia's 'Aggression'

LD1011211192 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1926
GMT 10 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 10 TASS—The Chechen parliament accused Russia of aggression against Chechnya as the Sunzhen and Malgobek regions where Russian crack forces were deployed on Tuesday "were never part of Ingushetiya and are ancestral Chechen lands".

The lawmakers demanded on Tuesday an immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from the areas.

Addressing the Chechen population on local TV Deputy Speaker Magomed Gushakayev called to remain quiet and avoid clashes with Russian troops.

Chechen Official Praises Gaydar Mission

LD1111184692 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1819
GMT 11 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny November 11 TASS—Chechen Vice-Prime Minister Yaragiy Mamedov gave a positive

assessment to the results of the talks with Russian acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar in Nazran, capital of Ingushetiya, on Wednesday.

In an exclusive interview with *ITAR-TASS*, Mamedov said that the dangerous confrontation between Russian and Chechen troops in disputed districts has been eliminated due to the constructive position of Gaydar and Ingush leaders.

Mamedov also praised peace efforts by Aslambek Aslambekov, chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Committee for Law and Order.

Russian troops are being withdrawn from all villages and towns which the Chechen Republic considers its own territory and will not be restationed there again, Mamedov said.

Gaydar Reaches Agreement With Ingush Leaders

OW1111144392 Moscow *INTERFAX in English* 1417
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The talks, conducted by Russia's Acting Premier Yegor Gaydar in the capital of Ingushetiya in the morning November 11, brought about an agreement. The talks involved the leaders of Ingushetiya's provisional administration and representatives of the Chechen Republic, and produced a protocol envisaging the transfer of the Russian troops on November 11 from the conventional borders of the Chechen Republic deep into Ingushetiya, to the Yandyrka-Karabulak line, which is 30-35 kilometers away from the Russian troops' current place of dislocation.

Ingushetiya's commandant Major-General Musa Tsechovoyev said that the Russian troops' withdrawal from the conventional borders of Chechnya and Ingushetiya will "rule out accidental provocations, shooting and the escalation of tension on the border with Chechnya".

Following the conclusion of the agreement, Gaydar had a meeting with the Ingush leaders. Tsechovoyev described the talks as productive because, he said, they dealt with the long-overdue problems facing the Ingush people. He told *INTERFAX* after the talks that if these problems had been solved earlier, there would have been no genocide against the Ingush nation. The implementation of the plan drafted during the talks will help stabilize the situation in the region, he said.

The plan envisages, among other things, the return of the Ingush refugees who had left their homes in North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy region and in Vladikavkaz, the development of Ingushetiya's infrastructure, including the construction of an airport in the Cossack village of Sleptsovskaya (the Suzhen region), the establishment of a national bank and the invitation of representatives of the Russian ministries and departments to work in Ingushetiya.

In the afternoon November 11 the central square of Nazran was filled with people who talked peacefully with Russian servicemen.

Later during the day, Gaydar left Nazran for the North Ossetian capital of Vladikavkaz.

Says Troops To Stay in Ingushetiya

LD1111164692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546
GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 11 TASS—Russia's Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said his visit to North Ossetia and Ingushetiya, the scene of the worst inter-ethnic conflict since the Soviet Union collapsed last December, aimed to study the situation and map out measures to stabilise it.

Speaking on the problem of refugees, Gaydar said it should not be tackled too straightforwardly. He believes Ingush refugees should return to their homes, provided their security is ensured.

Gaydar urged North Ossetian deputies and public representatives to understand and explain to people that it would be unfair to ban Ingushes from returning to their homes. It may lead to another war. "We can't keep Russian troops here for ever," Gaydar said.

North Ossetian Parliamentary Chairman Aslambek Galazov said it would be wrong to lay down any restrictions on Ingush refugees returning home.

Gaydar said Russian troops will remain in Ingushetiya to ensure the observance of the state of emergency. However, they will be withdrawn several kilometers into Ingushetiya from the border with the neighbouring Chechen Republic to prevent possible excesses.

Gaydar stressed that the duration of the state of emergency in Ingushetiya will depend on the situation in the republic.

Says Troops Will Not Advance

LD1111190692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1722 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 11 Nov—Moscow "does not intend to advance Russian troops anywhere in Ingushetiya. Their main task is to maintain the state of emergency in Ingushetiya," stated the head of the Russian cabinet here today. At the same time, if Russian troops in Ingushetiya are subjected to provocations they have orders to stop these provocations in the most resolute way and there are all the necessary forces and means for this, warned Gaydar at a news conference which took place in

Vladikavkaz. He particularly stressed that "the irresponsible utterances of certain Chechnya leaders do not scare the Russian leadership."

As for the state border with Chechnya, as Gaydar noted, at the present time it is a border between Ingushetiya and Chechnya. In his words this matter has not been resolved for a long time and the sides are not paying the slightest attention to this. But as soon as Russian troops were introduced onto Ingushetiya's territory these talks actively began.

The acting head of the Russian Government stated that the problem of the territories of Ingushetiya and North Ossetia is "very complex and delicate." Gaydar expressed the wish that both sides "might seek a compromise and meet each other halfway."

Answering a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent regarding refugees, he promised that the Russian Government would do "everything it can to create conditions permitting them to return to where they had been living."

After the news conference Gaydar departed for Vladikavkaz airport, whence he left by air for Moscow.

Blames Politicians for Conflict

LD1011222892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2200
GMT 10 Nov 92

[By ITAR-Tass special correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 10 TASS—"The responsibility for what happened today rests primarily with politicians who, playing on people's basest sentiments involved their nations in the ruthless bloody conflict. Politicians from both sides, who played on kindling this conflict, should be held accountable for what has happened," Russian Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, who is now in Vladikavkaz, told journalists this evening.

Responding to a query from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Gaydar noted that the quest for a political solution to this conflict will be lengthy and difficult but he said he hopes that this quest "will not be gory any longer."

Evaluating the Russian Army's role in settling the conflict, Gaydar said: "The Army has fulfilled its duty." According to Gaydar, the principal purpose of his arrival in the area where the state of emergency is in force is to look into the situation and extend assistance in ensuring an effective operation of the temporary administration both in Vladikavkaz and in Nazran.

Gaydar will visit Nazran tomorrow, acquaint himself with the current situation there and meet temporary administration officials. He held a working meeting with representatives of Russian ministries and agencies working in the area where the emergency regulations are in force in Vladikavkaz today.

To Seek Prosecutions on Conflict

OW1111200892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting prime minister of the Russian Federation, Yegor Gaydar, had a meeting with North Ossetian heads of government, local councils and executive committees. The meeting was held Wednesday in Vladikavkaz. Yegor Gaydar said that he came to the republic in order to examine the situation and address various problems, such as food and medical supplies, and assessment of the material aid needed to be sent to those who suffered as a result of the conflict.

In the words of Yegor Gaydar, the political leaders responsible for this bloody conflict will not evade prosecution. A group of investigators will be sent to Vladikavkaz and Nazran from Moscow to effect this. The minister of defense will also carry out an investigation in order to find out the sources of arms supplies and how the extremists came in possession of military inventory including tanks and other armed vehicles, Gaydar said.

Deputy head of the interim administration in North Ossetia, Sergey Shoyzu, acknowledged that the state of emergency had already gone into effect both in North Ossetia and Ingush autonomy. Many rocket launches, small arms and ammunition have been confiscated.

Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhrai is expected to arrive in Vladikavkaz Thursday. He was appointed head of the interim administration by the Russian president last week.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1914 GMT on 11 November adds: "Yegor Gaydar, acting chairman of the Russian Government, returned from Vladikavkaz this evening. In the state of emergency zone Yegor Gaydar met the leadership of North Ossetia and Ingushetiya and of the provisional administration and the military command. He travelled to Nazran, visited the scenes of the recent combat operations, and held meetings with Supreme Soviet deputies and the public of North Ossetia."]

Tanks Leave Chechnya After Border Accord

LD1111100592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0920 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Grozny, 11 Nov—In Nazran last night a protocol was signed by representatives of the Chechen Government and the Ingush side under which, until the formation of power structures in the Ingush Republic, the border between Chechnya and Ingushetiya is recognized as the line separating them up to their union in one

autonomous entity in 1934. Yegor Gaydar, acting Russian premier, who is in Vladikavkaz, was familiarized with the protocol by telephone.

On the basis of this agreement, the Russian tank units started leaving Chechnya this morning.

The news of the agreements reached in Nazran and of the pull-back of the Russian troops has eased noticeably the tension in Grozny, where a rally outside the parliament building had been going on since yesterday evening.

Withdrawal From Chechen Border Suspended

LD1211124792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1114
GMT 12 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Russian suspended its decision to remove troops 5-10 kilometres away from the border with Chechnya as Chechen armed units and armoured hardware moved close to the border late on Wednesday, a spokesman of the Russian Government told TASS on Thursday.

The agreement that the Russian troops ensuring the state of emergency in Ingushetiya will pull away from the border with Chechnya was reached on Wednesday during talks between Russian Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and the leadership of Chechnya and Ingushetiya.

"The implementation of November 11 agreements... on the removal of Russian troops from the agreed border of the Chechen Republic inside Ingushetiya was suspended", he said.

The spokesman denied that the troops have already begun to withdraw. "The troops did not receive such an order", he said.

Reports from Grozny, the capital of Chechnya, said however, that the Chechen armed groups returned from the conflict zone to the places of their permanent location.

Ingushes Said Moving Tanks Into Chechnya

OW1111172292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ikhvan Gerikhanov, the chairman of the Chechen Republic's parliamentary ethics committee, has stated at a meeting between the military commandant of Ingushetiya and Chechen parliamentarians that the Russian troops positioned close to the Chechen border were setting a precedent for conflict. The Chechen representatives who attended talks in Nazran on Wednesday [11 November] expressed their anxiety over the fact that Russian troops who had been brought into Ingushetiya to ensure that the state of emergency there was observed had spilled over onto the Chechen Republic's territory.

Yusup Soslanbekov, the chairman of the Chechen parliamentary foreign affairs committee and chairman of the parliament of the Confederation of North Caucasian Peoples said that "if war were to break out between the Chechen Republic and Russia, then the Ingush side would be to blame." He accused the Ingushes of bringing foreign tanks onto the territory of the Chechen Republic.

Ingushetiya's military commandant, Major-General Musa Tsechoyev, representing the Ingush side, described the Chechen delegation's position as an attempt to dictate conditions to the Ingushes. "The Ingushes are defenceless," Tsechoyev said, "and do not have the forces to stop both Russian and Chechen tanks". However, as an INTERFAX reporter has informed from the scene of the action, the main concentration of armed servicemen and civilians was to be found on the boundaries of the Assinskaya and Sernovodskaya stanitsas of the Sunzha region. Two Russian armoured vehicles were to be found there at 17:00 hours. During Tuesday night and early Wednesday morning concrete re-inforcements and anti-tank hedgehogs were erected.

Rutskoy Denies War With Chechnya

PM1111163392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 92 First Edition p 1

[Item from correspondent and news service roundup under "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric: "There Will Be No War"]

[Text] Chechnya will not be at war with Russia, nor Russia with Chechnya, the president has never cherished such plans, and the aim of the actions undertaken in Ossetia and Ingushetiya is to instill constitutional order in the region, Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy declared yesterday.

According to Aleksandr Rutskoy, no one has ever given any political leaders the right to kindle ethnic dissension or conflicts which end in bloodshed. It was precisely to ensure that the Constitution, the Federation Treaty, the laws, and human rights are observed that the Russian president undertook decisive actions supported by the Russian Federation Security Council.

Russian Ministry Briefing on Conflict

LD1011171292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A news conference is currently taking place in the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry in Moscow in connection with the conflict between North Ossetia and Ingushetiya. Our correspondent Yevgeniy Osipovskiy is on the line:

[Osipovskiy] Yes, the news conference is still continuing. It did not finish on time, and later I will explain. The briefing noted the tragedy of the war on Russian territory which has now been successfully suppressed, but the tension remains as before, despite the fact that Russian troops have also been brought into Ingushetia.

The news conference started by citing an incident which served as the direct reason for the conflict. This was a road accident as a result of which two citizens of Ingush nationality died. However, as Anatoliy Zhantiyev, a representative of the North Ossetian creative unions, rightly noted, not all road accidents lead to war. In the opinion of the Ossetian side, war was caused by premeditated aggression by Ingush extremists against North Ossetia. Many incidents were cited to back this up.

Something unexpected then took place at the briefing. Abdurakhman Mammalu, an uninvited representative of the Ingush side, took the rostrum and started to blame the Ossetians for everything. Moreover, he then had to be roughly removed from the rostrum and seated in the hall. This speech by the Ingush side was seen as an attempt to disrupt the news conference. However, it continued quite normally afterward. [passage omitted]

Ingushes Will Not Rule Out Guerrilla Tactics

LD1011234192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1742 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Ingushetiya is capable of mobilizing up to 20,000 of people, said Major Tangiyev, a self-defence unit commander from Nazran, an Ingush administrative center, today's Russian TV evening news program reports.

Tangiyev stressed he personally does not exclude a possibility of beginning Ingush guerrilla operations against the Russian troops.

At 11 a.m. on Tuesday Russian troops entered Ingush territory to ensure the state of emergency regime, introduced there and in neighbouring Northern Ossetia early last week by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The Ossetian-Ingush conflict broke out on the eve of October 31 as Ingushes, a small ethnic group in the northern Caucasus, laid claims on part of territory of Northern Ossetia. In the Second World War years Ingushes were driven out from their native lands and resettled in central Asia. Last year the Russian parliament adopted a law on rehabilitation of repressed peoples, which ensures in particular the return of native lands.

Ingush Refugees Seek Russian Protection

LD1011234692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1742 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 10 TASS —Ingush refugees and residents, currently staying in the Dzhirakhs-koye ravine, do not know how to react to the introduction of Russian troops in Ingushetia.

About 3,000 refugees remain in the ravine, head of the Ingush Dzhirakhsky Village Council Khusen Tsurov told ITAR-TASS over the telephone. Several days ago there were about 10,000 of refugees there. The refugees were removed from the ravine through a mountain pass and by helicopter.

As for their reaction to the Russian troops introduction, Tsurov said the population so far vaguely understands the essence of the events. At the same time, he asked for a Russian post at the ravine entrance to prevent new clashes between Ossetian and Ingush armed units.

Russian Official Says Troops Should Remain

LD1111132692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1231 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Novikov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—"Troops that are now in the North Ossetian and Ingush republics should remain there as long as a tense situation keeps on," Valeriy Shuykov, secretary of the parliamentary committee on defence and security affairs, told ITAR-TASS.

Shuykov, who is the head of a group of Russian parliamentarians, now in North Ossetia for supervision and promotion of a peaceful settlement of the conflict, denied media reports that troops had been withdrawn from Ingushetia.

"I think that troops will remain in the conflict zone as long as the state-of-emergency regulations are in effect there," he said.

"Over the recent period appropriate agencies could have been set up in the Ingush republic, such as militia agencies which would be capable of maintaining order there," Shuykov maintains.

Following Wednesday's joint closed-door meeting of the Russian parliament chambers that heard information on the situation in the conflict area, Shuykov said "the situation in the conflict area is extremely tense and unstable and that the possibility of its exacerbation is not ruled out."

The populated areas that were the scene of combat actions have been destroyed and burned down and are now unfit for habitation, he said. "There is a large number of refugees from both sides," he added. As for the hostage problem, Shuykov said "it has been resolved in the main: both sides have been swapping hostages."

Shuykov said he would not like to make any judgements as to who is right and who is to blame in the conflict and that any statement on that score is inappropriate so far. There should not be any talk about Ingush republic borders either. This issue "should have been tackled simultaneously with the establishment of the Ingush republic," he said.

As for territorial delimitation between Ingushetia and Chechnya, Shuykov said "the Ingush side itself claims possession of three districts—Nazran, Sunzhen and Malgobek. I think one could agree with that."

Denies Withdrawal of Troops From Ingushetiya

LD111110692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1010 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Novikov and Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov—"The troops situated in the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic must remain there for as long as the situation remains tense," ITAR-TASS correspondents have been told by Valeriy Shuykov, secretary of the parliamentary committee on defense and security, who heads the group of Russian deputies in North Ossetia to observe and promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

He denied media reports that the troops allegedly have been withdrawn from Ingushetiya. "I believe that they will remain in the conflict zone for as long as the state of emergency remains in effect," Valeriy Shuykov remarked. The committee's secretary added that "during this time, it might be possible for the Ingush Republic to set up the appropriate structures, in particular, militia bodies, capable of maintaining order there."

Commenting on today's closed joint session of the chambers of the Russian parliament, which heard information on the situation in the conflict area, Valeriy Shuykov noted that "the situation there is extremely strained and unstable and that the possibility of it deteriorating cannot be ruled out." The settlements where there have been combat operations are destroyed, burned out, and uninhabitable, he said. "There are a great number of refugees from both sides," the deputy added. As for the hostage problem, that, Valeriy Shuykov said, "has been mainly resolved: They have been handed over from both sides."

Valeriy Shuykov said that he would not like to make any judgements about who is right and who is wrong in the conflict because it is not the time to make any statement about that. In addition, one should not, in the view of the secretary of the parliamentary committee, now be talking about the borders of the Ingush Republic: This issue has to be resolved "simultaneously with the formation of an Ingush Republic."

As for the territorial demarcation of Ingushetiya and Chechnya, in Valeriy Shuykov's words, "the Ingush side itself is calling three rayons its own—Nazranskiy, Sunzhenskiy and Malgobekskiy." I believe, he said, one could agree with that.

N. Ossetia Stabilizing; Hostages Exchanged

LD1211105992 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 0940 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 12 Nov.—The situation on the territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia and in the town of Vladikavkaz is gradually stabilizing, but so far it remains extremely complicated, Major General Aleksandr Khodov, North Ossetian Security Council member, reported to an *ITAR-TASS* correspondent. In populated areas liberated from Ingush armed formations, subunits of the operative group of Russian troops, formations of the Internal Affairs Ministry republican guard, of the people's militia, and Ter cossacks are maintaining the state of emergency and curfew.

According to data from military intelligence, the remaining unit of Ingush formations equipped with armored equipment and practically all types of weapons has withdrawn to surrounding forests and mountain gorges.

Specially set-up commissions are continuing work connected with the exchange of hostages from both sides. To date 1,248 hostages have been returned to the Ingush side, and the Ingush have returned 542 Ossetians.

No Explanation for Resignation of Internal Troops Chief

PM1111182192 Moscow *IZVESTIYA in Russian* 12 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vadim Belykh report: "General Savvin Submitted Request and Went on Leave"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Vasily Savvin, commander of internal troops of the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], has tendered his resignation. He did so right after returning from the zone of the state of emergency in North Ossetia.

The reasons that prompted the general to take such an unexpected step can only be guessed at. At least, both the MVD and the internal troops proper are resolutely abstaining from comment.

Another lieutenant general is answering Vasily Savvin's office telephone—Vyacheslav Ponomarev, who is acting commander today. He declared that his boss is on leave, but he refused to speak about the resignation. It has been confirmed to us in the internal troops personnel directorate that both the request to be released from official duties and the request for leave really were submitted simultaneously.

Vasily Savvin has worked in his post for just over a year, having replaced in it the veteran of all internal conflicts in the USSR of the perestroyka era—Colonel Gen. Shatalin, who in his time was also unexpectedly removed from the command without any explanation.

Shakhray Confirms Appointment as N. Ossetia Head

LD1011142892 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1329 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—Sergey Shakhray, Yeltsin's man in the Russian Constitutional Court hearings into the constitutionality of the Soviet Communist Party, has confirmed that he has been appointed the head of the provisional administration in North Ossetia.

He told *ITAR-TASS* he was planning to leave for North Ossetia on Thursday, November 12 after delivering his final speech in the Constitutional Court and getting ready for his new post.

Observers say that Shakhray's appointment to North Ossetia can be seen as a "dress rehearsal" for filling a new, extremely responsible post of the chairman of the Russian State Committee for National Politics, which will also make him deputy chairman of the Russian government. As decreed by the president, Shakhray is due to fill the latter post on November 25.

Along with this, observers do not rule out that his appointment to North Ossetia is prompted by the reluctance of certain circles to see Shakhray as a government member again. Shakhray was a vice-premier until last April and resigned before the Congress of Russian People's Deputies, Russia's bigger parliament, met for its sixth session to preserve his deputy mandate.

Appointment Seen Increasing Panel Status

MK0611124992 Moscow *NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian* 6 Nov 92 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the "Government" rubric: "Shakhray Returns. State Committee for Nationalities Policy Has a New Chairman"]

[Text] Under yesterday's edict by the Russian president, Sergey Shakhray will return to the government in the post of chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy and vice premier. If we recall remarks made by Shakhray, who quit Yeltsin's government just before the sixth Congress of People's Deputies because he was determined to have nothing to do with certain officials in the president's entourage, he should scarcely have agreed to take on this appointment.

Nonetheless the edict is in force, and the vice premiership again confronts Shakhray with the question: To be or not to be a deputy, to join or not to join Gaydar's semi-doomed government? But the main thing to consider was whether he should take up this post of "whipping boy" (which, incidentally, is inevitable at a time when the tide of interethnic wars has already reached Russia) or remain aloof from the problems of the disintegration of the Federation.

As far as Yeltsin's choice is concerned, according to his plan it is clear that Shakhray's appointment to the vice premiership means that the State Committee for Nationalities Policy will finally rise up and acquire the status befitting this department, bringing with it changes to the blueprint of Russian nationalities policy, which, although it has at least existed hitherto, has left much to be desired. The powerless and politically unknown Valeriy Tishkov, former chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy, (incidentally, he was aware of his position) actually suggested to Yeltsin that he be replaced by Shakhray. Judging by Tishkov's bitter complaints about his mutual relations with the president, it seems this was obviously the first time that the latter has heeded his opinion. Just as, according to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's information, it was the first time he has heeded the advice of Gennadiy Burbulis, who had been trying to secure the return of Shakhray to the center of power.

The new vice premier will take up his duties 25 November and move to the State Committee for Nationalities Policy building on Ivan Baoushkin Street in the outskirts of Moscow.

Commentator on Nomination

LD0911182392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1624 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Commentary by Andrey Cherkizov]

[Text] Good evening. President Yeltsin stated prior to departing for London that everything is calm in North Ossetia. According to information we have, this statement does not totally correspond to reality. First, since the imposition of the state of emergency, the number of killed and wounded has not stopped rising. The number is in the thousands. Second, judging by certain information, irregulars from South Ossetia are taking part in the conflict. Third, the nature of the injuries reveal that armed people—I am deliberately not saying precisely who because this is not yet known exactly—have at their disposal bullets with a shifted center of gravity. Furthermore, splinters from tank shells are being removed from the bodies of the dead and injured. Fourth and last, Mr. Galazov said the other day that, I quote, there can be no question of the Ingush returning the Prigorodnyy rayon of Vladikavkaz.

Evidently, taking all these facts into account, the president has decided to replace Georgiy Khizha, head of the interim administration in the state of emergency zone, with Sergey Shakhray. Of course, one could joke that Shakhray is now the first person to be vice premier of the Russian Federation twice. In actual fact the situation developing around Shakhray is complex, and I would even use the word dramatic.

Shakhray is known to have important contacts in parliament and his authority is sufficient to try to carry out preparatory work among deputies to ensure that the

sixth congress passes with minimal losses for the president and government. Precisely because of this, Shakhray's appointment to the post of vice premier and chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities is extremely advantageous for those with an interest in whipping up pre-congress hysteria and for those who want not a constructive congress but revenge against the government. This appointment will immediately be followed by Shakhray's loss of his seat as deputy. Were Shakhray to have remained in Moscow, however, he would have had opportunities to have a constructive influence on preparations for the congress.

Conclusion: Remove Shakhray from Moscow; put him in a situation in which there can be no victors. If Shakhray succeeds in calming the situation in the state of emergency zone, then well done, he will make the government; if he fails, he will be wringing his own neck and will go off into the wilderness of Palestine for a tour of the Dead Sea.

The president needs Shakhray in Vladikavkaz, because after the administrative, strong-arm methods of Khizha, Grachev, Barannikov, and Yerin, only Shakhray will be able to establish contact between the opposing sides, and persuade them to sit down at the negotiating table and to shift away from the language of submachine gun volleys to decisions on contemplation and responsibility and then to constructive dialogue. In actual fact, Sergey Shakhray has been faced with a choice: Either to protect himself and be sure of his own future, or to put all his experience and skill toward supporting and assisting the president. That is Shakhray's personal choice. It is a choice for his conscience. I will pay him tribute but do not envy him.

Maneuvering Behind Appointment Analyzed

PM1111152392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Shakhray Being Sent to Vladikavkaz To Preserve Balance of Forces in Government"]

[Text] Following S. Shakhray's unexpected return to the government, to the post of Russian vice premier and chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy, a new shift has occurred in his activity. Before his departure for London President B. Yeltsin signed an edict appointing Shakhray head of the interim administration in North Ossetia and Ingushetia. He is to leave for Vladikavkaz on 12 November.

It is natural that such a rapid handing over of "heavy" portfolios to Shakhray has given rise to a mass of questions. In particular, what lies behind these swift appointments?

It has been learned from information obtained from government circles that Shakhray's appointment to the post of vice premier and state committee chairman came as a complete surprise to representatives of the power

structures—the Ministries of Defense, Security, and Internal Affairs—and also to members of the government collegium. This appointment resulted in a change in the correlation of forces within the Cabinet of Ministers and weakened the positions of its conservative section. But it was then that the president issued his edict sending Shakhray on the mission to Vladikavkaz. This time to the complete surprise of the appointee himself.

To elucidate the situation, IZVESTIYA's correspondent turned to Shakhray himself. He confined himself, however, just to a reply with regard to his return to the government. It turned out that the president invited him last week and suggested that he take on the State Committee for Nationalities Policy. Shakhray asked for time to think, saying that he would accept this offer if he received support in the Supreme Soviet. He had meetings with R. Abdulatipov [chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities] and S. Filatov [first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet], and the matter was agreed with R. Khasbulatov [chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet]. There were also meetings with representatives of a number of parliamentary factions. Sergey Mikhaylovich concluded the interview at this point.

Nevertheless, it has been learned from competent sources that many forces influenced his appointment for various reasons. One grouping in parliament was interested in Shakhray's transfer to the State Committee for Nationalities Policy for the reason that he might succeed in sorting out the complex tangle of interethnic problems. Another reckons that Shakhray will "burn himself out," having lost the mandate of a people's deputy.

Views in the government were somewhat different: Since Shakhray's return strengthens the positions of the Poltoranin-Burbulis grouping, it is best for him to be as far as possible from Staraya Ploshchad [Russian Government headquarters].

Given the existence of such strong power structures as the Security Council and the Committee for Emergency Situations, and given the fact that powerful forces of the Ministries of Defense, State Security, and Internal Affairs have been brought into play in the North Caucasus, the chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy should hardly tackle economic and military matters in North Ossetia and Ingushetia. Meanwhile, an entire heavy burden has been shifted onto Shakhray—probably in the hope of his defeat. A competent source asserts that [Russian Federation Security Minister] V. Barannikov and [Russian Federation Internal Affairs Minister] V. Yerin might be more interested than others in this.

Military, Nuclear & Security Issues

Yeltsin Submits Draft Decree on Sales of Military Stocks

OW1111172592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president has submitted the draft of a decree on the procedure for the sale and utilization of ex-military stock. The document gives the Defence Ministry the right to sell and utilize all ex-military stock except arms and ammunition on both the internal and international markets.

Sale on the internal market may be carried out mainly by the commodity exchanges and at auctions, and on the international market via the Defence Ministry's material resources and foreign economic relations department. Preference will be given to agricultural co-operatives of servicemen, farm holdings and servicemen who have been retired in connection with the reduction in the numbers of the Armed Forces, and Army veterans.

The proceeds from the sale of the stock are, in accordance with the decree, to be deposited into a special Defence Ministry fund and used to finance the construction and acquisition of living accommodation for servicemen, including those whose period of service has terminated.

The Defence Ministry is to be exempted from all tax on income received from the sale and utilization of the stock. The ministry will also be exempted from surrendering fifty per cent of its hard currency earnings to the state and from customs duty on the sale of stock on the external market.

Yeltsin Edict on Use of Self-Defense Devices

PM1111161792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "We've Got Gas in Our Pockets. What About You?"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an edict "On Special Personal Protection Devices and Devices Armed with Tear-Inducing Substances and Irritants."

According to the edict, the president's press service reports, uniform procedures are established in the Russian Federation for the acquisition, storage, and use by citizens of special personal protection devices (gas pistols and revolvers, the shells that go with them, and aerosol canisters), and devices armed with tear-inducing substances and irritants.

Permission for the acquisition and storage of special personal protection devices are issued by the organs of

internal affairs according to citizens' place of residence. Special permission is not required for the acquisition or storage of aerosol canisters.

Government Decides on Funding for Troops in Baltics

LD1111174492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya
Ostankino Television First Program Network in
Russian 1200 GMT 11 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian Government issued an instruction on the funding of Russian troops in the Baltic region as the Baltic republics are introducing their own national currencies. The plan is simple: Estonia and Latvia will pay for the Russian gas in their own currencies. The earnings will be channeled to the Army. The same deal may be arranged with Lithuania, as well. In addition, servicemen in the Baltic area will be given funds in convertible currency.

Forms Commission on Baltic Troop Withdrawal

OW1011144492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421
GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Government has formed a commission to deal with all matters relating to the withdrawal of Russian Armed Forces from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The commission will be headed by Russian Governmental Deputy Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko.

The commission, which was formed after a Russian Security Council resolution of November 4th, 1992, will include Russian Defence Minister Boris Gromov [title as received], Deputy Russian Finance Minister A. Astakhov, Deputy Minister for the Economy I. Materov and Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin.

Deputy Defense Minister on Troop Withdrawal

LD1211051592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1910 GMT 11 Nov 92

["Excerpts" of interview with Colonel General Boris Gromov, deputy defense minister, by unidentified correspondent; place, date not given—passages within quotation marks recorded; Gromov speaks in Russian with superimposed translation into English]

[Text] For the first time in world history, the withdrawal of an unprecedented number of the Russian troops back home within an extremely short period is being carried out. The Deputy Russian Defense Minister Colonel General Boris Gromov is in charge of the operation. And here's what he had to tell Radio Moscow:

[Gromov] "The withdrawal and stationing of troops on Russian territory has been planned and is being carried out in accordance with the general conception of the

Russian Armed Forces. Last year we removed all of our troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and on 25th September this year, the military withdrawal from Mongolia was finished. Russian troop units have already left Poland with only about 6,000 servicemen remaining to put things in order in former military garrisons.

"The withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany will be over by the end of 1994. About 57 percent of the personnel and 73 percent of hardware have already been removed. Talks are coming to an end on the withdrawal of a training brigade from the Republic of Cuba, approximately by the middle of next year."

Col. Gen. Boris Gromov was then asked: What about the withdrawal from former Soviet republics?

[Gromov] "As for the Russian military presence in former Soviet republics, the situation there is far more complicated, particularly in the Baltic states. Of more than 40,000 Russian servicemen currently stationed in the Baltics, to say nothing of their families, 24,000—almost half of them officers and warrant officers—are to be removed before the end of the year. The main difficulty consists in the scarcity of living space in the areas where the newly arrived servicemen will be settled.

"In this situation the Defense Ministry decided to suspend the withdrawal of those troop units in the North-western Group and the Baltic Fleet for which the necessary conditions on Russian territory have not been created. The Russian president signed a decree on the order and coordination of corresponding talks on the withdrawal from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia."

The next question put to the general was: What are the prospects of the Russian military withdrawal from other former Soviet republics?

[Gromov] "The problem of Russian troops in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Moldova is no less acute. We've settled in principle with Azerbaijan and Armenia. A temporary agreement with Georgia has also been signed. Nevertheless, the situation is complicated and the attitude towards Russian soldiers, especially in Georgia, is difficult to foretell. Russia's Defense Ministry is carrying out a set of measures to scale down the strength and partially disband the administrative structure of the military units stationed in those regions.

"As far as Central Asia's concerned, the troops of the former Turkistan Military District have come under the jurisdiction of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. National armed forces under the joint Russian-Turkmen command are being formed in Turkmenistan. At present there isn't any particular problem about the withdrawal of Russian troops from those countries and even from Tajikistan, but not before the situation there has stabilized."

Another question put to the general was: What can you say about the scale of the operation aimed at bringing Russian troops back home?

[Gromov] "Since 1989, about 500,000 Russian servicemen, more than 12,000 tanks, up to 13,000 artillery systems, and 3,000 planes and helicopters have been removed from various foreign countries. To continue the withdrawal in the next two years 298 billion rubles are needed according to the prices of September 1992."

And those were points of view made by Col. Gen. Boris Gromov, the deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation.

Ministry Denies 'Rumors' on Oath, Draft Deferral

PM1011131392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 92 p 1

[Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Press Service report: "Groundless Rumors"]

[Text] In view of the fact that lately certain media organs have repeatedly raised questions connected with alleged Russian Federation Ministry of Defense decisions on the taking of the military oath by Russian Federation Armed Forces servicemen and on the cancellation of draft deferrals for students of higher educational establishments' day departments, it is necessary to point out that the Ministry of Defense is not empowered to make such decisions and has not made any.

Rumors about Armed Forces personnel taking the military oath on 1 December are totally groundless. There is not even a text of the oath which, according to the Law "On Defense," has to be approved by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Only then will it be possible to talk about the specific date and procedure for servicemen to take the military oath.

Nor are there any grounds for the rumors about cancellation of draft deferrals for students of higher educational establishments' day (full-time) departments. They will not be drafted before they have completed their studies. Upon graduating from higher educational establishments that have military departments, students will undergo certification and will be given the officer's rank of reserve lieutenant and be transferred to the register of military reservists.

Upon graduating from higher educational establishments that do not have military departments, students will be drafted into the Armed Forces in accordance with the procedure laid down for all Russian citizens, for a period of one year.

No innovations are planned in the established procedure for granting deferrals to students of higher educational establishments for this year's fall draft.

The statutes on the procedure for military service and state service instead of military service (alternative service) are approved by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and edicts on drafting Russian Federation citizens into the forces (indicating the number of draftees) are issued by the Russian president.

New Moscow Militia Chief Appointed

OW1011130692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Colonel Vladimir Pankratov has been appointed the new Moscow militia chief, instead of Arkadiy Murhashov. Today the Moscow Deputy Prime-Minister Ernst Bakirov is expected to introduce the new chief to Muscovites on a live TV show at about 18:00.

Colonel Pankratov has been in the militia since 1956. In the 80's he was the chief of the Moscow traffic militia, but in 1990, after a conflict with the city committee of the CPSU, he was made the head of Dinamo sports club. Recently, under a decision of the Moscow Government, he became the public security section chief.

Fire on Nuclear Submarine Extinguished

LD1111060592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasily Belousov]

[Text] Murmansk November 10 TASS—A Russian nuclear submarine under repairs in a dock of the Northern Fleet caught fire, but the blaze was quickly extinguished and nobody was injured, the local television reported on Tuesday.

The radioactive background on the submarine and around it is normal.

Local reporters noted the unusual fastness with which military authorities informed about the incident.

Officials on Disclosure of Chemical Arms Revelations

OW1111123092 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Interview with A.D. Gorbovskiy, director of the Chemical Weapons Issues Administration under the Russian Presidency's Committee for Conventional Problems of Chemical and Biological Weapons; and A.P. Kondaurov, deputy chief of the Ministry of Security's Public Relations Center, by Mikhail Solntsev; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Solntsev] The scandal that erupted recently when state secrets involving chemical weapons were divulged caused a certain stir both in Russia and abroad. We have with us people who are directly involved in putting an end to this scandal, am I not correct?

[Kondaurov] It is hard to say...

[Solntsev, interrupting] In any case, I am happy to introduce our guests. This is Aleksandr Dmitriyevich Gorbovskiy, a doctor of engineering sciences and

director of the Chemical Weapons Issues Administration under the Russian Presidency's Committee for Conventional Problems of Chemical and Biological Weapons—a very long title. Good morning.

[Gorbovskiy] Good morning.

[Solntsev] And this is Aleksey Petrovich Kondaurov, deputy chief of the Russian Ministry of Security's Public Relations Center. Good morning.

[Kondaurov] Good morning.

[Solntsev] Let us begin with the article published by Mirzayanov and Lev Fedorov, in which they accuse Russia of breaking international agreements banning chemical weapons. Mirzayanov was arrested, Fedorov was not.

[Kondaurov] Mirzayanov was detained. The nature of the action taken against him was changed, and he was released from custody on his own recognizance. But criminal charges against him have not been dropped.

[Solntsev] How do you feel about the recent criticism that has been leveled at your department—criticism that says you have again started persecuting dissidents and those who disagree with current policy?

[Kondaurov] As to dissidents, in terms of this accusation against us, I would say that we do not persecute those who disagree with policy, but, rather, we pursue those who break the law. When criticism is not constructive and shows no desire for absolute truth, we treat it in a very relaxed way. The Ministry of Security, in accordance with the Law on Federal Security Organs, is charged with and is responsible for protecting state secrets. Our workers do not have the right—I repeat, do not have the right—to look the other way and not act when a law is being broken. The Mirzayanov case, in both our opinion and that of the Procurator's Office, which sanctioned criminal proceedings, and the detaining of Mirzayanov... [changes thought] We think that an offense has taken place, and criminal charges have been brought against the suspect, as defined by Article 75 of the Russian Federation decree. Nevertheless, I must repeat that the filing of criminal charges does not amount to saying unanimously that a person is guilty or not. A thorough inquiry is called for, and this is why we have the police and the court.

[Solntsev] Aleksandr Dmitriyevich, what are your comments on these accusations against the Russian Government—accusations that claim the government is breaking its international commitments in the sphere of chemical weapons? What is your opinion as a chief of the Chemical Weapons Issues Administration?

[Gorbovskiy] Indeed, after reading these articles, many people may form such an opinion, but let me note that a whole series of international agreements are in place today. The first is the 1925 Geneva Protocol, which bans the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, and other gases in wartime. This protocol does not, however, ban the

development, manufacture, and production of chemical weapons. As to the second document, a memorandum on the exchange of information and control in observing the ban on chemical weapons was signed in 1989. The first stage of this information exchange has been carried out, as was a mutual visit of U.S. and Russian inspectors. The subsequent release of data on military chemical potential is planned for 1993, as are inspections aimed at working out international control procedures. There are mutual agreements on destroying chemical weapons which have yet to be put into effect because Russia's industrial base is not prepared for large-scale destruction of chemical weapons. Finally, there is a convention currently under development—it is practically ready—which, if signed, will completely ban the development, manufacture, and all other activities related to chemical weapons.

[Solntsev] As a chief of an administration overseeing chemical weapons, how do you feel about these publications by Mirzayanov and Fedorov on the problem of banning chemical weapons?

[Gorbovskiy] The signing of the convention banning chemical weapons is far from being just the wish of politicians. Nevertheless, a material base, the allocation of funds, solutions to an entire complex of economic and technological problems, the construction of unique destruction sites, and the furnishing of laboratories with modern, world-level equipment is essential. The activity of scientists, and these groundless statements... [changes thought] They were not included in resolving these important problems.

A whole team of scientists is working on this, and there are planned steps designed to hasten the solution of these problems. And yet, such statements do not really contribute anything to this process. On the contrary, they generate distrust in our negotiating partners, as well as prolong this period we would like to put behind us as soon as possible.

[Solntsev] So, this is directly damaging to the talks. I have a question for Aleksey Petrovich. Why were criminal charges brought only against Mirzayanov while Fedorov was left alone?

[Kondaurov] For the same reason that the Ministry of Security works strictly within the limits of the law. Despite the fact that some mass media bodies presented the case as a persecution of journalists, Mirzayanov is not a journalist but a party to state secrets. As to Fedorov, he has no connection to any secrets; he is just the coauthor of the article. Therefore, no criminal charges were brought against Fedorov. We act in accordance with the law and strictly within the limits of the law.

[Solntsev] Does the phrase party to a secret mean that the person signed a document pledging not to divulge it?

[Kondaurov] Yes, he signed such a document, and he had access to state secrets in his work. There are voices

claiming that because there is no law on state secrets, there can be no case against Mirzayanov. Nevertheless, there is a list of the most important secret data, which was confirmed by the USSR Council of Ministers; this list was made legal by a decree from the Russian president in January, and it remains in effect today. Also, there is Article 75 of the Russian Federation decree on the divulging of state secrets.

[Solntsev] Can you tell me what is new on the Russian Ministry of Security's front lines?

[Kondaurov] The Russian Ministry of Security is working fairly intensively and under a rigid schedule, and the Mirzayanov case is not the only one. We have acted on many cases recently. One of the most serious was when we, in cooperation with the St. Petersburg organs, arrested a group of combatants engaged in banditry and robbery. About 500 people were involved in this criminal group's activities. Several dozen are already under arrest, and firearms, ammunitions, edged weapons, and material possessions worth more than a half-billion rubles were confiscated from them during the investigation.

[Solntsev] A half-billion?

[Kondaurov] Yes. Recently, the Russian Federation's Ministry of Security arrested a member of the Russian Foreign Ministry, who was suspected of accepting a bribe for issuing overseas travel passports—on 23 October.

[Solntsev] Is the amount of the bribe known?

[Kondaurov] Let us say that this is still a secret of the investigation.

The chairman of a cooperative was arrested on suspicion of grand theft through the use of false documents. On 26 October, acting on information received during an investigation, and with the procurator's sanction, a search was conducted in a building occupied by one of Moscow's commercial banks, and a great deal of unregistered material wealth was confiscated. The list for even the past few days is fairly long, and it all involves breaches of trust and the acceptance of bribes—in short, activities of corrupt officials, including those within law enforcement organs.

[Solntsev] I would like to thank you for coming here so early. We have discussed a subject which is of interest to everyone.

Aleksandr Dmitriyevich Gorbovskiy, director of the Chemical Weapons Issues Administration under the Russian Presidency's Committee for Conventional Problems of Chemical and Biological Weapons; and Aleksey Petrovich Kondaurov, deputy chief of the Russian Ministry of Security's Public Relations Center, thank you both, and good luck at work.

Agricultural & Economic Issues

Harvest, Sowing Situation Reviewed

PM1111200592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12
Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Valeriy Konovalov report: "Sowing of Winter Crops Failed, But No Need to Panic"]

[Text] The usual standards are already inapplicable in assessing the results of the present harvest and predicting the future one. Much more grain has been produced in Russia this year than was expected, but on the other hand almost 3 million hectares too little of winter crops have been sown. In the spring, however, the exemplary workers can change places with those who have fallen behind.

Until very recently, forecasts for the total yield of grain crops in Russia varied between 80 and 90 million tonnes. There are as yet no final figures, but at the moment about 107 million tonnes have already been produced. The sale of grain to the state, which was still until recently the main indicator, can now say little. Those farms, both private and collective, which hurried to fulfill their duty to the state, have, it seems, lost by receiving too little in proceeds as a result of the recent increase in purchase prices. But it is not known whether those who have now held on to the grain will gain—it is, after all, becoming spoiled in storehouses which have not been adapted for this.

The private farmers, who have the greatest interest in efficiency—as this is a question of survival to them—think in the following way: They have sold 450,000 tonnes of grain out of the almost 2 million they have harvested. All of agriculture, however, including state and collective enterprises which have for the most part been transformed into joint-stock enterprises, are now thinking the same way. They are also in a dilemma: They must either go bust or survive. An excellent illustration of this is the fact that last year 60,000 military vehicles were obtained for the harvest—and this still was not enough; they requested 20,000 but used 12,000—only those which were really necessary, and what is more important, affordable.

Market conditions quickly change both the structure of the sowings and the fields' productivity. The shortage of sugar has, for example, caused much more attention to be paid to beets, which have begun to be cultivated in those regions where this crop was not previously grown. As a result, 4.5 million more tonnes of sugar beet have been produced than last year, and the yield is 201 quintals per hectare compared to 175 quintals per hectare last year.

Nobody now asks the peasants for reports on carrying out the sowing of winter crops ahead of schedule. By previous standards the result might be considered a failure: Almost 3 million hectares too little have been sown. Of course, the early cold weather had an effect. But

there is no need to be hasty and panic—the peasants have their reasons. It is another question whether the state will help the peasant with his bills. The suppliers' monopoly, the cutting of ties with traditional foreign partners, and the tight state budget are alarming country folk as they wait for spring.

Yeltsin Submits Draft on Investment Guarantee Body

OW1011145492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1421 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has submitted to the Supreme Soviet a draft decision to ratify the convention on the institution of a multilateral agency for the guarantee of foreign capital investments.

In his letter to the Supreme Soviet, Yeltsin says the agency's main task is to accelerate the economic development of its member-states by stimulating foreign capital investment in them. For that purpose the agency offers guarantees of financial protection of foreign investments in the economies of its member-states from noncommercial, including political, risk. Such guarantees, Yeltsin points out, make it possible to eliminate barriers in the way of foreign investment in countries where political changes take place along with economic reforms.

According to acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar's memorandum to Yeltsin, Russia will have 3,137 shares in the agency, 20% of which have to be paid for, 7.5% in hard currency, to a sum of some \$2.5 million. The other 12.5% will be paid for in rubles and in interest-free bills of exchange to be stored in the Russian Central Bank.

Civic Union's Volskiy Urges Action on Unemployment

OW1211134192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1110 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Arkadiy Volskiy has urged the government to take steps to restrain the growth of unemployment which he called impermissible. He spoke in Moscow at an economic seminar organized by the FINANCIAL TIMES of London.

He emphasized that the criticism of the cabinet does not mean that his Union is opposed to it. The Union does not call for the resignation of the government but wants it to include competent and honest experts. If the government and its advisors do not take the current situation into account, company directors cannot be in the clouds. They are pragmatists and must take care of their employees.

Mr. Volskiy described as hasty and unrealistic the attempts of the government to turn all corporations into joint-stock companies at once. He said the cabinet intended to complete the process by October 1, but in reality only 1% of companies underwent the process.

The reduction of government contracts in the defence industry by almost 70% was another heavy blow to the industry. As munitions' manufacturers were unprepared for the production of other goods several million people are facing the threat of dismissal.

Oil Production Declines, Excavated Coal Increases

OW1211023492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The amount of oil extracted in Russia continues to decline. According to data from the Russian Committee on Statistics, in 25 days in October, the average daily extraction of oil declined by 16% in comparison with an analogous period last year, although no decline was evident as compared with September 1992. Some of the largest oil extracting conglomerates of Russia—Nizhnevartovskneftegaz, Noyabrskneftegaz, and Yuganskneftegaz—have reduced the volume of oil extracted by 21-31% as compared with the same period last year.

At the same time, the amount of gas extracted per day for 25 days in October, which totalled 1.776 billion cubic meters, grew by comparison with the previous month by 9%, although as compared with last year, it is lower by 0.4%.

There was also a decrease of 7-20% in primary petroleum products in the 25 days in October as compared with last year. The daily excavation of coal in the same period is 11% higher than last month, though at the same time it is 5% lower than an analogous period last year.

1993 Oil Production Estimated at 340 Million Tonnes

PM1111143592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1225 GMT 2 Nov 92

[From the "Telemix" program]

[Text] According to Russian Ministry of the Economy estimates, oil production in Russia in 1993 will total approximately 340 million tonnes, of which 40 million tonnes will be exported abroad and 51 million tonnes will be supplied to other CIS republics.

It is envisioned that licenses for oil exportation in 1993 will be issued only to raw material producers and processors, and to regional enterprises and organizations registered with the Russian Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations.

Over 340,000 Apartments Privatized in Moscow*OW1011150692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Over 340,000 Moscow apartments have been privatized to date. 260,000 of these were municipal apartments, and 60,000 belonged to housing associations. These figures represent 25% of the total number of apartments privatized throughout the Russian Federation. The figures were published on Tuesday by the Moscow City government which met to discuss progress in the programme to privatize living accommodation.

Crime Issues**3,500 Trespassers Detained at Borders Recently***OW1011151592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press bureau of the Russian Federation's frontier troops informed INTERFAX that from June to October 1992, the Russian border guards detained 3,500 trespassers. Two thousand of them tried to cross the Russian border from the neighboring states.

Over the same period, more than 70 million roubles worth of smuggled goods, about 250 units of weapons and more than 5 kilos of drugs have been confiscated.

According to the press bureau, over the past three months the frontier guards have prevented illegal importation to the Baltic states of more than 200 tons of non-ferrous metals, 70 tons of steel sheets, 100 tons of food and about 150 tons of gasoline and diesel fuel.

Crime Situation Still Difficult*MK1211084792 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 45, 5-11 Nov 92 p 4*

[N.R. report: "Reflected in Figures"]

[Text] The crime situation in the Russian Federation remains difficult. According to Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs figures, over the past nine months more than 2 million crimes have been recorded on Russian territory—27.7 percent more than in the same period last year.

The number of crimes committed in streets, squares, parks, and other public places was 210,000 (up 23.1 percent). Thefts of state, public, and private property are increasing.

More and more crimes involve firearms (up 76.1 percent), groups (up 30.6 percent), and are committed in a state of intoxication (up 19.1 percent). Juveniles are being actively involved in antisocial activities. Over the

past nine months more than 144,000 crimes were committed by or involved teenagers.

More than 103,000 crimes have been recorded in the economic sphere since the beginning of the year. The fight against particularly dangerous crimes—embezzlement on a large or particularly large scale (more than 4,500 cases were uncovered), bribery (around 3,000 cases) and violations of foreign exchange regulations (1,727 cases, a more than two-fold increase, brought to trial)—is being stepped up.

Abuses are hitting the credit and banking system more and more. Various kinds of fraudulent financial operations, bribery, embezzlement, and other violations are becoming widespread in this area.

Just recently the Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with other Russian law enforcement organs, put a stop to a number of operations involving illegal encashment totaling around 60 billion rubles [R].

The fight against the illegal export from the republic of strategic raw and other materials is being stepped up. Thus, the recent interservice operation codenamed "Trawl" carried out by internal affairs, security, and customs organs prevented the state from losing some R6.6 billion from the illegal export of oil, petroleum products, nonferrous and rare-earth metals, timber, lumber, chemicals, munitions, foodstuffs, and medicines. As a typical example, in Kaliningrad Oblast alone internal affairs organs uncovered more than 500 cases of the unlicensed export from Russia of petroleum products and raw and other materials worth more than R600 million.

Yerin: Crime Increase Forecast 'Not Reassuring'*PM0611142792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 92 p 1*

[Report by Viktor Kharlamov: "Problems in Murashev"]

[Text] On the eve of the 75th anniversary of the creation of the Russian militia a meeting took place between Russian Federation Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin and journalists.

"We have made a forecast of the growth of crime through 1995. Unfortunately, it is not reassuring," the minister admitted. "After all, crime is an indicator of a sick society, so that we cannot speak of stabilizing the situation which gives rise to crime in present conditions."

To a question about the possible resignation of Arkadiy Murashev as chief of the capital's main internal affairs administration, Viktor Yerin stated:

"I have a certain amount of respect for this man. At the same time I believe that his activity has not benefited the Moscow militia and city because Murashev lacks professional skills and knowledge. I think that the question of

strengthening the Moscow main internal affairs administration leadership will be resolved."

Media Issues

New Newspaper for Property Owners Published

PM1011121392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24
Oct 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "VAUCHER—the Paper of Millions"]

[Text] The first issue of the paper VAUCHER—the paper for new property owners, the subtitle says—has been published.

The new publication's editorial board pledges to provide a variety of information helping people to find their way around the property and securities market by actively using the experience of specialists, experts, and simply "smart people." It is interesting that despite what is, according to the sociologists, the widest possible selection of contributors for the first issue, practically none of them, except for officials, was able to answer the journalists' question what they personally will do with the vouchers.

In its very first issue the paper says that it has no commitments to government, trade union, party or commercial structures. The money to publish the first issue was provided by the "Imidzh-Vest" publishing company, which is one of the paper's founders. The other founder is A. Volkov, chief editor of VAUCHER.

Economic Journal Changes Name, Targets New Readers

MK1211111292 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 12 Nov 92 p 3

[V.A. report: "Economy for Everyone"]

[Text] New newspapers and journals are springing up all over. Not all are destined to survive. Let us hope that the journal OBSHESTVO I EKONOMIKA, which has just published its first issue, will be one of the lucky ones. Especially since the journal has an extremely interesting background.

The publication EKONOMICHESKAYA SERIYA "IZVESTIYA AN SSSR" was published for a long time. It had a tiny print run and was mainly read by people who contributed to it. Its new Chief Editor K. Mikulskiy, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, has decided that economic problems concern everyone today and the publication must become a popular journal instead of a purely academic one. Needless to say, it has taken time to reorganize the journal, which is published by the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

In the first issue A. Volskiy, S. Shatalin, L. Abalkin, Ye. Yasin, and other well-known academics analyze the development of a market economy. One of the authors and practical specialists involved is Ye. Murakov, director of a textile factory.

Moscow To Get Free Weekly Advertising Newspaper

LD1011133392 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Summary] Russia's first free newspaper, a weekly advertiser, entitled EKSTRA-M, will be delivered to Moscow homes and enterprises from the end of November. It will be circulated by the paper's own delivery service. The main aim of the paper is to provide rapid and reliable coverage of advertisements placed by enterprises, firms, and individuals. The editors intend to cover the main events in the city and to carry expert opinions on issues such as the introduction of vouchers or how to use privatization checks. Television programs and advice to readers may also be included.

The first issue will run to 500,000 copies.

Supreme Soviet

Yeltsin To Meet With Presidium Before Congress

LD1011235792 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1738 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Nov—President Boris Yeltsin will meet with members of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium before work starts in the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies which, as is known, opens on 1 December. This was reported at today's session of the Presidium by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov. He did not, however, give the precise date of this meeting.

Ruslan Khasbulatov also informed members of the Presidium that he had invited Boris Yeltsin to take part in a parliamentary meeting of the chairmen of republican Supreme Soviets and the leaders of kray and oblast soviets, which has been scheduled for 14 November. The Supreme Soviet chairman added that it would be a good thing to hold this meeting together with heads of administrations. "But in any event, I think Boris Nikolayevich will take part in it—people expect this," Ruslan Khasbulatov noted. "I have tried to convince the president that the Supreme Soviet will not permit any deviation from the reforms," the speaker of parliament stressed.

Likelihood of Yeltsin 12 Nov Speech Discounted
LD1211113692

[Editorial Report] Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 0830 GMT on 12 November broadcasts a 10-minute report from the Russian parliament by Olga Vasilenko in which she speaks to Viktor Leonidovich Sheynis, executive secretary of the Constitutional Committee, about the constitutional debate and the law on the Council of Ministers discussed on 11 November. After this Vasilenko is asked by the studio announcer about rumors that Yeltsin has been invited to speak to the joint session today. She says: "I do not even know where this information has come from. I have tried to find out at all levels but unfortunately have obtained no answers." Sheynis then says: "I do not see any reasons why the president should come today. The agenda has been approved and I do not see any issue over which the president should come to the Supreme Soviet." Vasilenko concludes: "Our journalist colleagues in general need to be very careful in their forecasts and announcements."

Yeltsin Amendments on Draft Law Rejected

LD1111182492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Nov 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Discussion of the draft law on the government has just finished in the Supreme Soviet. As a result, the deputies have rejected all the amendments in the draft which were put forward by President Yeltsin, and it is likely that the government will now make an appeal to the Constitutional Court to rule on the legality of the adoption of this law on the Cabinet of Ministers. It has become clear that certain violations of the voting procedure have taken place, that is, some deputies were voting with two cards at once and people who are not deputies were voting by proxy. Whatever the outcome, the final voting on the draft law will take place tomorrow.

Yeltsin Noninvolvement Urged

LD1111202392 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] The Russian parliament has voted for the controversial bill envisaging its full control of the government. First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko told the session that the bill was unconstitutional and disagreed with the principle of the delimitation of powers. After Wednesday's session of parliament Shumeyko made an official statement to the effect that the case is going to be taken to the Constitutional Court. The vice premier said that the president would be recommended to refrain from studying or signing the document until the Constitutional Court declared its verdict.

Resolution on North Ossetia Issued

LD1111052492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2250 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium, at its closed session held late in the evening of 10 November, adopted a resolution "On additional measures for settling the conflict situation in the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Ingush Republic," which states:

Having heard and studied the information on the implementation of the Russian Federation president's decree "On the introduction of a state of emergency on the territory of the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic," the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. The temporary deputies commission of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is to continue the work of observing and of helping the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic and to regularly inform the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium on the situation.

2. The interim administration is to ensure the immediate exchange of hostages without any conditions under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation; to adopt sufficient measures for preventing a further expansion of the zone of conflict, and for the earliest disarmament of all illegal armed formations of the conflicting sides; to do everything to help refugees from Prigorodnyy Rayon to return to their places of permanent residence; and, jointly with the the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation, to ensure their safety.

3. To recommend that the Russian Federation Government give emergency financial and material-technical aid to the people of Prigorodnyy Rayon, to improve medical services to the victims of the conflict, and to resolve questions of employment and housing for refugees.

4. The procurator general of the Russian Federation and the Ministries of Security and of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation are to adopt urgent measures to investigate the reasons for the outbreak of the armed conflict and to bring the guilty to face criminal responsibility, having provided a sufficient number of highly qualified employees for this task; to report on adopted measures to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

5. The interim administration is to enforce fully the emergency regime in the North Ossetian SSR and the Ingush Republic with the aim of unconditionally ending the conflict in the interests of both sides; to study the question of a new place for its residence.

6. Yuriy Yarov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, is charged with supervising the execution of this resolution.

[Signed] R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

[Issued in] Moscow, House of the Soviets, 10 November 1992

Observer Says Deployment 'Unprepared'

OW1011200292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928
GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A member of the Russian parliament Vice-Admiral Aleksandr Selivanov has said that the arrival of Russian troops to Ingushetia he was a witness to Tuesday [10 November] morning was an unprepared one. He said that action reminded him the "August developments of 1991, and the roar of combat vehicles made many people in local communities shudder". Vice-Admiral Selivanov believes one or two more days were necessary to warn the people of Ingushetia, because there is no local radio or television and the republican leaders could not issue an early warning in time".

Selivanov is head of a group of law-makers from the temporary observer commission of the Russian parliament for a settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, which has worked for six day now.

Selivanov said the Ingush people had a negative attitude to the Russian leaders and the Supreme Soviet and that the arrival of troops had only worsened it.

Defense, Security Secretary on Chechen Situation

OW1111152692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [11 November], during his conversation with journalists, Valeriy Shuykov, the secretary of the Russian parliament committee on defense and security declared: "The aggravation of situation in North Ossetia and Ingushetia is still possible." According to Shuykov, the forces stationed on the Ingushian territory must remain there until the Ingushes form their power structures "to support the order and to prevent export of weapons from Chechnya." Shuykov believes that the decree on the creation of the Ingushian republic should not have been adopted before the solution of the issue on its borders by all interested parties is reached. The last events, that is the conflict between Ingushetia and North Ossetia, Shuykov says, made the solution of the issue concerning the Prigorodnyy region of North Ossetia, for which the Ingushes claim, impossible in the near future.

Before 1994, that is before the deportation of the repressed Ingushian people, the lands of the Prigorodnyy region were within the Ingushian province. At present the Prigorodnyy region is within North Ossetia.

Khasbulatov Disappointed With Shumeyko Statement

LD1111184292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1807
GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Russian parliamentary chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has described Russian Vice-Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko's statement as "disappointing."

Shumeyko has urged President Boris Yeltsin not to sign the law on the Russian Council of Ministers adopted by the parliament.

"I'm disappointed with this statement. All the more so because we have come to an accord with the president and are determined to cooperate seriously in preparation for the congress," Khasbulatov said.

"The adopted law with all amendments runs counter to the principle of power delineation and makes the work of the government as an executive body accountable to the president impossible," Shumeyko stressed.

He said that if the Congress of People's Deputies opening in December does not adopt amendments to the present Constitution, the law will become invalid.

Shumeyko said he has prepared an appeal urging the Constitutional Court to consider the law on the Council of Ministers as unconstitutional and annul the results of the voting on the law in the parliament which violated the established rules. He also called on the president to refrain from signing the law, pending a decision of the Constitutional Court.

Wants Statement Backing President

OW1011200392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928
GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian Supreme Council Ruslan Khasbulatov stressed the need for the parliament to issue a pre-congress statement in the near future. At a meeting of the presidium Tuesday he said that the Supreme Council "should firmly state its intention of promoting the economic and democratic reforms in society". Khasbulatov noted that "the main goal is now the unity and civil concord". He pointed out that the Supreme Council's statement should note "the support for the president elected by the people".

At the same time, Khasbulatov said that it is necessary to reject any statements by certain political forces about the need for the presidential rule. Khasbulatov said that he "had received Boris Yeltsin's consent in principle" to meet with members of the Presidium of the Supreme Council. In Khasbulatov's opinion, such a meeting can take place "a week before the congress". He said that it

is planned to hold a meeting between members of the presidium and the government. According to Khasbulatov, chairmen of regional councils of people's deputies and heads of local administrations will meet in the House of Russian Soviets November 14. The head of the parliament suggested that the president will also attend the meeting.

Deputies Warn About Possible State of Emergency

OW1111125392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1158 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [11 November], at the Russian Supreme Soviet's morning sitting, Mikhail Chelnokov, Yuriy Sidorenko, and Sergey Ivchenkov, the people's deputies, produced a statement in which they assessed the current situation in the country as basis for "the introduction of a state of emergency in Russia." They see a threat to Russia's constitutional system in President Boris Yeltsin's recent statement, in which he had sworn loyalty to the people but not to the old constitution. They are disturbed by the creation, as they put it, of an anti-constitutional body, the Council of the heads of the republics within the Russian Federation; by the disbandment of the White House guard; by the Russian Defense Minister's (Pavel Grachev) statement that the army was on the side of the President; and by the last "shocking" statements of government members (Gennadiy Burbulis, Mikhail Poltoranin, Andrey Kozyrev and Anatoliy Chubays) concerning the threat of a coup.

Mikhail Chelnokov, the coordinator of the parliamentary faction "Civil Society", proposed an immediate gathering of all Russian people's deputies in Moscow in order to promptly convene the congress of the people's deputies in case the state of emergency was introduced. He also proposed to take all key ministries under parliamentary control—the security, defense, interior, and the whole "information block"—and to replace the Press and Information Minister, Mikhail Poltoranin, the head of "Ostankino" TV company, Yegor Yakovlev, and the head of the Russian TV company, Oleg Poptsov. Chelnokov proposed to address the parliaments and peoples of the world asking support for the Russian Supreme Soviet in its struggle against "the return of totalitarianism" in Russia.

Deputy Rejects Statement

LD1111165392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1545 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—"The statement of the three" made today in our parliament by deputy Mikhail Chelnokov, is, I believe, an attempt by a not very responsible person to provoke a situation in which

there could be a place for him," Russian Parliament Member Rasul Mikhaylov told ITAR-TASS.

"Why did my colleagues decide that the president has a state of emergency in store for us? On the contrary, Boris Yeltsin has been working hard to forge a closer cooperation between the presidential and government structures and the Supreme Soviet."

Rasul Mikhaylov reminded that the president has already agreed to meet the parliament's presidium before the Congress of People's Deputies. "I have no doubt that the procedure when members of government have again begun to meet parliamentarians regularly has been initiated by him," the deputy added. "We also now often come to the Kremlin and resolve issues with representatives of executive bodies, what shows that the president intends to eliminate the representative branch?" Mikhaylov asked.

Appeals similar to the "statement of the three," explode the situation. "They force the people to think that a war is about to begin in the higher echelons of power," he said.

"Many aspects of the political demarche by three of my colleagues remind (me) about the putschists last August—the same scenario, only then everything was done secretly," Mikhaylov said.

"What does it mean to put the information bloc—the press, television and radio—under parliamentary control, replace mass media leaders appointed by the president and put the security, defence and interior ministries under parliamentary control, as Mikhail Chelnokov, Yuriy Sidorenko and Sergey Ivchenkov suggest? This aims to create a striking fist, which can crush any authority," Mikhaylov stressed.

Report on Supreme Soviet's 10 Nov Proceedings

LD1111200792

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Service in Russian at 2045 GMT on 10 November carries a 15-minute report by commentator Yelena Osrina on the 10 November work of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. Work was done in committees and commissions, and parliamentary hearings on the socioeconomic situation in Maritime Kray were held. After discussion, a draft decision on the socioeconomic situation in Maritime Kray was submitted at today's sitting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. "The following are the main points of this decision:

"To instruct the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet committee for issues relating to the work of people's deputies' soviets to submit a draft law of the Russian Federation on the status of Maritime Kray by 1 February 1993;

"For the purpose of stabilizing the situation in the economy and the social sphere of Maritime Kray, to recommend that the Russian Federation president

instruct the Russian Federation Government to allocate the necessary additional material and financial funds from the federal budget for tackling first and foremost problems of economic and social development of the kray in 1993;

"To guarantee the preservation of the defense capability of Russia's eastern boundaries, paying special attention to the content and development of the Pacific Fleet;

"To take measures to conclude intergovernment agreements with the PRC, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the DPRK on economic cooperation, and organization and reconstruction of vehicle and railway crossings in the border zone, which are already in existence, and also opening of new ones;

"To elaborate in 1993 a state-federal program for the development of the fuel and power supply complex of the Far East region and to finance this program from state capital investments and the extra-budgetary investment fund of the Russian Federation Ministry of Fuel and Power Supplies;

"To elaborate in 1993 a state program for protecting lands and settlements in Maritime Kray against flooding, restoring spoiled agricultural lands, and improving their fertility;

"To elaborate a program for burying radioactive waste and the remains of nuclear submarines."

Yelena Ozhina says that parliamentary hearings on the space policy of the Russian Federation were held at the Soviet of Nationalities. The purpose of these hearings is to elaborate measures to cushion the consequences of the economic crisis on space science and industry. The hearings discussed the situation in enterprises and organizations of the space complex, the state space program of the Russian Federation, measures to help enterprises in the conditions of a transition to a market, the demilitarization of space exploration, the use of freed resources for economic and scientific purposes, the preservation of scientific and industrial cooperation within the CIS, and international cooperation in studying space.

Ozhina then interviews Yu. G. Gusev, deputy commander of the military space forces, and Yu. N. Koptev, general director of the Russian Space Agency, on the need for such hearings and their importance. Koptev dwells on Russia's chances in the space market, including the marketing of launches, space photography, the production of satellites. In 1992 the combined market amounted to \$4 billion. One of the most likely markets for Russia is that of launches, Koptev says.

Ozhina continues: A sitting of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium was also held today. There were 17 items on the agenda, including issues on the socioeconomic situation in Maritime Kray and a draft law of the Russian Federation on space activities.

Vyacheslav Sergeyevich Polosin, chairman of the Committee for Freedom of Conscience and Confessions and

Charity, submitted for examination draft laws of the Russian Federation on freedom of confessions and on charitable activities. On the initiative of the Commission for Social Issues, the following issues were examined: on the responsibility of bodies for the social protection of the population for incorrect or unauthorized use of pension funds of the Russian Federation, and on the transfer of the functions of paying pensions and allowances to bodies of the Russian Federation pension fund.

Aleksandr Konstantinovich Kopeyka, deputy chairman of the Committee for the Media, submitted a draft law of the Russian Federation on organizing activities in the sphere of television and radio broadcasting. Mikhail Alekseyevich Mityukov, chairman of the Committee for Legislation, submitted a Russian Federation law on court appeals against actions of state bodies and public organizations and officials that violate the rights and freedoms of citizens."

Parliament Supports Joining International Finance Corp

OW1111125792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1736 GMT 10 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Per-shin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, the Russian parliament's presidium backed the president's and government's plans to join the International Financial Corporation.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: The International Financial Corporation was established in 1956 as a branch of the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This corporation has 143 members and its goal is to promote the economic development of its member-states by extending loans to the private sector.

Yegor Gaydar's memo sent to the Russian president on October 26 sets forth the terms of Russia's membership of this organization. Russia's quotas in the International Financial Corporation will amount to 3.42 per cent which will put it on the 6th-9th place alongside Canada, Italy and India. This quota envisages the payment of a 266,470 million dollars and of about 17 million during the year as the starting membership due.

The Finance Ministry will allocate the necessary sum, while the Central Bank will act as the depositor of Russia's national currency.

Parliament Adopts Bill on Constitutional Amendments

LD1211134692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1229 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—The Russian Supreme Soviet today adopted the first reading of a bill on amendments and supplements to the country's constitution now in force. The bill will be submitted for the consideration of the seventh Congress of People's Deputies opening on December 1.

Parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who chaired the joint session of the parliament's chambers today, called in question whether only soviets, the representative government bodies, make up the political foundation of the Russian Federation. He noted that there were other branches of power except representative government and deputies ought to consider thoroughly what wording should be accepted in the country's fundamental law.

Khasbulatov was supported by deputies, specifically by Viktor Sheinis, deputy executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, who suggested that the proposed wording of one of the articles should not be agreed with: "People exercise state power directly through referenda and the soviets of people's deputies that make up the political foundation of the Russian Federation." Sheinis stressed "it fully attunes with the slogan: All power to the soviets."

Motivating the need to bring the fundamental law which is in force in the country in line with new political and economic realities, Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Legislation, noted that "the principle of the delineation between all branches of state power and their interaction should be formulated in the constitution in clearer terms already today."

"It is likewise necessary that changes in the constitution stemming from the federative treaty be finally recorded in the fundamental law," Mityukov emphasised.

Opposition Reportedly Increasing in Supreme Soviet

OW1111153792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The note "On additional proposals on preparation for the 7th Congress and on strengthening contacts between the government and the Russian Supreme Soviet" developed by the expert group of the Presidential consultative council and the Russian Supreme Soviet cites that the analysis of the roll-call votes at the present session of the Russian parliament testify to the strengthening of forces which oppose to the government and the president, and to the further weakening of the reformatory wing of the deputies corps.

According to the estimates made by the experts, basing on the results of the 6th congress and the previous session of the Russian Supreme Soviet session, the president and the government could find support of 33%

of the deputies corps; now the number of parliamentarians supporting Yeltsin and Gaydar reduced by 10-13 people and constitute a little more than 20%.

Faction Warns of Changes in Supreme Soviet Composition

LD1211040992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1800 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The main danger of convening the Seventh Congress of Russian People's Deputies lies not in a possible attempt to overthrow the president and the Russian Government, but in "quiet" changes to the Supreme Soviet's composition, according to experts of the parliamentary Coalition of Reforms whose reports with the results of their investigation were distributed among deputies in the Russian parliament building.

The analysis of the roll-call votes at the two previous congresses and at the fourth parliamentary session shows that the forces opposing the president have considerably strengthened while the reformist wing of people's deputies has further weakened, the experts say. According to them, the number of parliamentarians supporting the head of state and the government has gone down by 10 to 13 votes as compared with the results of the voting at the previous Sixth Congress of People's Deputies and the fourth parliamentary session.

The experts did not investigate the reasons behind this situation, they dwelt on the "most regrettable" point: among the deputies who went over to the opposition camp were those who in the future could remain a "reliable mainstay of reforms if they received the minimum attention of the president and the acting head of the government."

In this connection the analysts from the parliamentary coalition of reforms are recommending a number of meetings be held in the near future, and more specifically, that the government should meet with deputies from the Moscow region, and the president—with deputies who are workers. The experts also suggest finding out why some deputies, working in the executive power bodies, are coming out against the president and the government.

Experts also recommended arranging a meeting between the president and the vice-president, on the one hand, and the parliamentary factions "Free Russia" and the "Left-wing Center", on the other. They believe this will help clear up the position of the deputies—members of these factions—at the forthcoming congress.

Draft Law on State Secrets Currently Under Discussion

OW1111173792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Three categories of classified information have been marked out by a draft law on state secrets which is expected to be passed by the Supreme Council by the end of the year. Interfax has been informed by sources in the parliamentary defence and security committee that the draft was currently being discussed by the committee's working groups. The draft stipulates that the level of secrecy will depend on the extent to which the security of the nation could be breached by the disclosure of certain information.

The three categories of secrecy are: "confidential" ("for official use"), "secret" and "top secret".

The draft law states that the following may be classified as a state secret: information about Russia's defence capabilities and security; programmes for the creation and modernisation of new types of weaponry; strategic and special operational plans for the deployment of the armed forces; mobilisation plans; state cyphers; nuclear defence systems etc.

The secrecy act will be binding, according to the law, for thirty years. However, in certain cases this period could be extended, e.g. In connection with a direct threat to critical state interests or the honour and integrity of its citizens.

Regional Affairs

St. Petersburg Mayor Favors Arms Trade

OW1111144492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Anatoliy Sobchak, Mayor of St. Petersburg, believes Russia should continue making and selling arms. "We've played into the hands of our competitors in the United States and Germany by leaving the arms market," he told Interfax in an exclusive interview. "This runs counter to Russia's national interests." According to his estimates, Russia could be making \$20 billion a year if it continued selling arms. "We're begging the United States for the 24 billion we could make ourselves," he said. "If arms trade is immoral it should be cut down by both sides." He described the current conversion of the military industry to civilian production as "barbarous." "It's beyond my comprehension why not a single military enterprise in St. Petersburg has been closed down yet. [sentence as received] They've had to take care of themselves since January, having had no orders from the Government," he said.

Caucasian Confederation Orders Partial Mobilization

OW1111172492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Confederation of Caucasian Peoples (CCP) parliament Yusup Soslambekov gave an order Wednesday [11 November] expressing the need to announce a partial mobilization on all CCP territories uniting several Caucasian republics. The statement estimated that each nation may organize as many as 5000 to 10,000 people. The commanders and directors of headquarters were ordered to go immediately to Grozny. Soslambekov also ordered that funds be collected for the Confederation's needs.

The document named November 14 as the date for the regular session of the CCP parliament.

Chechen Leader Dudayev Outlines Hopes for 'Caucasian Home'

MK1111165092 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian
No. 45, 5-11 Nov 92 p 10

[Interview with Chechen President D. Dudayev by Roza Aliyeva; place and date not given: "Dzhokhar Dudayev: 'We Are Not Indifferent to What Our Neighbors Are Like,' Chechen Leader Tells FEDERATSIYA Correspondent"]

[Text] [Aliyeva] Dzhokhar Musayevich, do you consider the Confederation of Caucasian Peoples [CCP] a legitimate organization from the legal viewpoint?

[Dudayev] The Russian parliament itself is illegal, other structures of authority are illegal. There is no separation of the legislature and the executive in Russia, there is total economic, political, and legal disorganization. In that situation should the CCP fight a legal fight? Although it is that situation and the legal anarchy in Russia itself that have brought about the military conflagrations in various regions of the former Union. How far can we live in a state of war? We want to live differently—not in danger of annihilation.

On the other hand, the CCP is a social structure and will only become legitimate once it has compelled peoples to elect their governments and has held new elections after putting forward and nominating its own candidates. Thus it will legally come to power. Then the peoples must be given the right to a referendum. They must be asked whether they want to be with Russia. If they do, good luck to them. What if they want to be part of the Confederation? Good luck to them. I think that 50 percent of the population will be in favor of being with Russia. But that won't be humiliating then. In either case I do not think that we need to set up borders, expel recalcitrants, or rattle sabers. At the moment the Russian leadership, unaware of what it is doing, is punishing

itself—its weapons are going to all corners of the country and reverberating back on it.

The Confederation cannot become a state tomorrow even: The road to statehood is a long one.

[Aliyeva] Do you think that the CCP can avert conflicts in the North Caucasus?

[Dudayev] In order to answer this question you need to take a more careful look at what the Confederation thinks and does and whether it is adopting legal decisions.

[Aliyeva] Your republic is involved in this organization.

[Dudayev] Yes. And I officially support it. The Confederation presents one option for escaping from the totalitarian system. But I do think that the Confederation will undergo some changes in connection with the changing circumstances and situation. It played its role during the initial stages—in restoring a physically devastated state. It adopted the decision on volunteers—a decision of which I approve. I am afraid that this small conflict could escalate into a world war.

[Aliyeva] It is possible to detect a general rule whereby every declaration of independence within the former Union ends with a military conflict. What must be done to stop it? What can you as state leader do?

[Dudayev] The only way to unite the North Caucasus is in a Caucasian home. Without Russian interference. At present we have an association of states and peoples. We have already succeeded in achieving some things. This is the first time that all the peoples of the North Caucasus have gathered together for a "roundtable." A declaration was adopted and a strategic policy formulated.

[Aliyeva] What is that policy?

[Dudayev] An association on a confederative basis. But this must happen quite voluntarily.

[Aliyeva] Is it possible for the Caucasus to secede from Russia and unite within a Caucasian home without bloodshed?

[Dudayev] It is. We have been able to accomplish our revolution without bloodshed. Although we paid dearly for it. We have a land of plenty. But look at the poverty around. We have everything, and if we manage it correctly, we should be the richest people on earth. We have hardworking people and natural resources; if you put a blade of grass in the ground, a tree grows. All that was needed was autonomy. Over the next five years we will make our region to prosper. We will shortly begin building a new capital at the foot of the mountains—by thermal springs. We will call it Eli. That can be translated as purity, nobility, and honor.

[Aliyeva] In that case, isn't it better for Chechnya to conduct its own development without joining a Caucasian home?

[Dudayev] No. Conditions must be prepared among our neighbors. Our economies must develop together. We want our neighbors to be free, not slaves.

[Aliyeva] Who is the leading force in the Confederation? How do you see the Caucasus in five years time, and what will Chechnya's role in a Caucasian home be?

[Dudayev] The Chechen people, their delegation are the leading force in the Confederation. Many people now realize that if Chechnya did not exist, nor would the others. Today we are organizing the unification of the Caucasus.

[Aliyeva] How do you think events in Abkhazia will develop?

[Dudayev] We do not want this to develop into a Caucasian war.

The flawed nature of the United Nations is one of the reasons for what is happening. All the troubles, particularly those facing small peoples, stem from this. Until the United Nations disbands the Security Council, nothing good should be expected to come out of it. Armenia and Azerbaijan are being admitted to the United Nations. What of it? I don't want Chechnya to be recognized by the United Nations like that: You won't emerge from that unscathed, but led like a pup.

[Aliyeva] How will events develop if Russia does not recognize Chechnya?

[Dudayev] Chechnya has gotten through all the stages needed to create its own statehood. I am not worried about Russian recognition. That term dates back to Stalinist times.

[Aliyeva] But you are talking with Russia?

[Dudayev] I am not conducting any talks. But I have met with Rutskoy. Although the first round showed that talks are pointless. The Russian Supreme Soviet is not based on a sufficiently legal foundation to conduct talks. The question has now once again arisen of further contacts. I think that they will take place.

[Aliyeva] What about the Russian population and other nationalities?

[Dudayev] Chechens have experienced the kinds of ordeals and humiliations which mean that they will not murder or humiliate those weaker than themselves. We are genetically incapable of oppressing our neighbors. Only those who have done a great deal of evil are leaving here.

Sakhalin Governor To Ask Yeltsin To Make Kurils Free Economic Zone

OW0911115892 Tokyo KYODO in English 1001 GMT
9 Nov 92

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Nov. 9 KYODO—Sakhalin Gov. Valentin Fedorov said Monday he plans to ask

Russian President Boris Yeltsin this week in Moscow to designate the Kurils an independent economic zone.

In an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Fedorov, known as staunch opponent of the returning of four Russian-occupied islands to Japan, suggested that such a designation would spur exchanges with Tokyo along with expanding economic cooperation.

Fedorov, whose jurisdiction extends over the Kuril islands and the disputed islands, said he will visit Moscow on Thursday to make his appeal to Yeltsin.

Fedorov, who is expected to stand for reelection in a gubernatorial election in two and a half years, said "I must listen to the voices of the citizens who are opposed to the reversion of the southern Kurils."

The disputed islands of Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and the Habomai group are known in Moscow as the "southern Kurils," while in Tokyo they are referred to as "northern territories."

Fedorov said a presidential decree on the social and economic development of the Kuril Islands is in the final stages of being drafted, requesting favorable treatment for the archipelago in the Russian Far East.

The measures would include permitting Sakhalin to independently manage the export of domestic products, appropriate local budget revenues from joint ventures and foreign firms for regional development, and handle exemptions on income tax and export tax.

Fedorov also criticized for their "Japanophilia" some Foreign Ministry officials who lean toward returning

Shikotan and the Habomais to Japan in line with the 1956 Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration.

In the joint declaration, Moscow pledged to return to Japan Shikotan and the Habomais after conclusion of a peace treaty.

He said that Yeltsin will come to understand during his upcoming visit to South Korea and China that Japan is not Russia's only potential partner in the Far East.

Fedorov said he looks forward to increased investment by the South Koreans and Chinese in Sakhalin and the Russian Far East.

Moscow Militia Short Nearly 7,000 Staffers

MK1211085192 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 5

[S.M. report: "Moscow Militia in Figures"]

[Text] The Moscow militia is currently short of 6,995 staff. This figure includes 340 detectives and 224 sector inspectors.

In the first 10 months of the year 2,565 staffers have been hired and 2,923 fired.

There are 5,300 families of State Internal Affairs Administration staffers on the waiting list for improved housing conditions.

Hostels are currently providing a home to 20,334 people, of whom 15,372 are members of militiamen's families.

Some 400 sector inspectors lack any office space.

Some 3,500 militia staffers have no home telephone.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Reiterates Nuclear Arms Position in Talk With Clinton

LD1211064892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0615 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York November 12 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk reiterated that his country is ready to eliminate or withdraw from its territory all nuclear arms if it receives preliminary compensation from Russia.

In a telephone conversation with U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton on Wednesday Kravchuk said that "Ukraine wants to play a stabilising role in the region", according to Clinton's spokesman George Stephanopoulos.

Clinton supported Ukrainian intention to become a nuclear-free state, according to the spokesman.

Delegation to Black Sea Fleet Talks Discusses Position

LD1111103692 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Leonid Markulov Kravchuk met yesterday with the Ukrainian delegation to the Black Sea Fleet negotiations with the Russian Federation.

Vasyl Durdynets, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet and head of the Ukrainian delegation, reported on the course of negotiations with the Russian delegation and on the preparation of draft documents as envisaged by the Yalta Agreement signed on 3 August. That accord covers the principle of forming a Ukrainian naval force and a Russian fleet on the basis of the former USSR's Black Sea Fleet.

The meeting discussed the possibility of invoking clauses in the agreement, set out by the Ukrainian and Russian presidents in Yalta, with regard to measures that may be taken when complications arise that hinder the resolution of the Black Sea Fleet question. An agreement was reached on the delegation's position at the next round of negotiations. The talks are scheduled for 12 November in Moscow.

Kravchuk Briefs French Minister on Domestic Situation

OW1211054092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk expressed satisfaction with the development of Ukrainian-French

relations, receiving France's Minister of Equipment, Housing Construction, and Transport Jean-Louis Bianco on November 11.

In response to questions from the French minister on the situation in Ukraine, Kravchuk noted significant changes made recently in social and political spheres: a new government has emerged, and monetary reforms are expected in the near future, which the president believes will accelerate the entire economic reforms process. He said the Ukrainian karbovnets will be introduced as a temporary unit toward a national currency - the grivna. "We aim to make the transition to our own currency and leave the ruble zone," claimed Kravchuk. He also noted that documents are being prepared on the status of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, and 2 new laws are being developed in the Supreme Soviet - on elections of incumbent representative powers and elections of executive powers. A draft of the new constitution is under discussion which Kravchuk said has the people's full support.

Regarding relations with Russia, the president stressed that all problems must be resolved only through negotiations and discussions, and that confrontation should be avoided by all means "in order to help one another to preserve the democratic achievements of the people." Kravchuk said his last contacts with Russian leaders show that they have reached mutual understanding on many issues.

Official Reports on Meeting With CSCE Committee

LD1211000492 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Excerpt] At the weekly Tuesday Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press briefing, foreign and domestic journalists learned about events this month in Prague, Kiev, and Uzhgorod. Our correspondent Oleksander Zednik explains.

[Zednik] Yesterday, Volodymyr Lapytsky, acting head of the CSCE and regional cooperation section of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, returned from Prague. He participated in the CSCE senior officials' committee meeting. He said that in two days of tense work scores of issues were discussed, including a range of issues connected with the former Yugoslavia and the conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia, and in the Dniester republic. Those present were interested in Ukraine's position on these issues.

[Begin Lapytsky recording] As I said, Ukraine was very active on these issues. In fact, we spoke on the problems in Yugoslavia. In our speech we once again confirmed our position, that is, we demanded that the sides immediately cease military actions. We expressed great concern in connection with human rights situation, that is, violations of human rights in Yugoslavia, and in this context we expressed our quite serious concern over the fact that in particular the rights of national minorities,

especially those of the Ukrainian national minorities in Yugoslavia, are being violated. [end recording]

[Zednik] Frankly, Mr. Lapytsky said, the CSCE does not address today's demands. Problems are discussed, decisions are made, but the conflicts continue. The discussion then turned to British cultural center. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Clinton Election Victory

AU1111115392 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
6 Nov 92 p 11

[Commentary by Artem Prokhorenko: "The Americans Have Made Their Choice"]

[Text] The Democratic Party's candidate, Bill Clinton, has won the U.S. presidential election. In accordance with the latest data, he won 362 of 638 electoral votes. Only 270 votes are needed to win. This means that on 20 January 1993 Clinton will be sworn in as the 42d U.S. president. Albert Gore, Democratic senator from Tennessee, will become vice president.

What does the Democrat, first in the White House in 12 years, promise the Americans? During the election campaign, Clinton defined his goal as "aggressive" economic and social policy meant to improve the well-being of the middle strata of the population.

In foreign and defense policy, Clinton favors reducing the U.S. military presence in Europe and suspending a series of Pentagon programs. He proposes that the primary focus be on rapid deployment forces. He promises to help American companies reestablish their leading position in world markets.

The new American president does not renounce support for former USSR republics, but he believes that the United States has reacted too slowly to events taking place there. In Clinton's opinion, America must lead the international coalition to assist in the destruction of strategic nuclear weapons in the former USSR, continue to render food and medical assistance to CIS citizens, and promote the creation of democratic institutions and the implementation of market reforms. Therefore, the policy of the new White House administration toward the former Soviet republics, particularly Ukraine, will be largely based on old principles. But some have said that "unconditional" support must not be given and that it is necessary, depending on specific goals, to use "methods of influence." This was stated by M. Albright, Clinton's adviser on foreign policy matters.

But this was not the main issue in the presidential election campaign. The focus was the problem of extricating the U.S. economy from the decline it suffered during the former administration. "If inactivity is an art, then Bush is a true artist." This is how R. Solow, Nobel prize winner and professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has characterized Bush's administration. Against this background,

Clinton's support for tax reductions for capital investments and of scientific research, and encouragement of new investments in education and professional training turned out to be more attractive to Americans.

Optimists believe that Clinton and Gore represent a generation of progressive Democrats competent in state policy. Moreover, they are more free thinking than most of their predecessors—conservative Republicans.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Holds News Conference on START Ratification, Other Issues

OW1111183492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633
GMT 11 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated during a press conference Tuesday that on November 12, jointly with the Cabinet members, he will set forth the main provisions of the programme for dealing with the current economic crisis. He said this programme did not go against the national economic policy, adopted by the Ukrainian parliament in March 1992.

Shortages of energy and fuel were the main economic problems facing Ukraine, said Kravchuk. He noted, however, that the ongoing talks with Russia have led to increases in oil supplies.

The Ukrainian president believes that on November 16 the parliament should take the decision on increasing the minimal pension rate and make certain steps in the financial and credit spheres.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Aleksandr Savchenko, the director of the center for economic prognostication, announced on Ukrainian radio that Ukraine will completely withdraw from the rouble zone within the next few days. In his opinion, the monetary reform will have two stages: to begin with, payments will be made in coupons by bank transfer and then switch over to grivnas will be carried out. However, this can only be done in an economically stable Ukraine and not earlier than 1993, said Savchenko.

The Ukrainian president spoke in favour of the ratification of the START Treaty by the parliament. He noted, however, that Ukraine should be given an opportunity to use the uranium stuffing of the nuclear warheads as fuel for nuclear power plants. Ukraine should be given the "material equivalent of disarmament as well as guarantees of its security".

The president also said that during the talks with Russia Ukraine is pursuing the policy of compromises. This is expected to help the Russian democratic forces which

have come under threat, he went on to say. Speaking about the division of the Black Sea Fleet, he said that there were national-patriotic chauvinist forces in Russia which will not put up with the loss of the Black Sea Fleet, and that this circumstance cannot be neglected. These forces, he said, are trying to hamper the implementation of the Yalta agreement between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents. Moreover, some of the Russian officials in charge of ensuring the implementation of the Yalta agreements safeguard the interests of the Russian side alone. Ukraine, he said, follows the letter and spirit of the Yalta agreements according to which the Black Sea Fleet will be divided during the period up to the year 1995. There are people in Russia, he added, who think that the division of the Black Sea Fleet will begin after 1995. Such a position is making itself felt during the Ukrainian-Russian talks on the problem, but cannot be accepted by Ukraine, said Leonid Kravchuk. He expressed hope, however, that Ukraine and Russia will finally arrive at a mutually acceptable solution.

There are several ways of implementing the reform in Ukraine, Kravchuk continued. Direct election of the heads of the local governments would be the best thing, he said. Another possibility is that the president's representatives would work alongside the local governments. The motto "Power to the Soviets!" is a thing of the past, said Leonid Kravchuk.

The Ukrainian president also refuted the media reports about the appointment of ex-premier Vitold Fokin and other high-ranking ex-members of the Cabinet to posts in the president's office and in the diplomatic corps.

Prime Minister Kuchma on Economic Problems, Solutions

PM1111152192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma by Viktor Drozd in Kiev; date not given; under the "New Leaders" rubric: "Leonid Kuchma: It Is Necessary to Cast Off the Chains. But Without 'Shock Therapy'"]

[Text] Kiev—Leonid Kuchma's first step after his appointment as prime minister was to show that he does not waste his words. After a short but stormy debate, the Supreme Soviet approved the government that he presented by a constitutional majority and at the first vote. Because, as Leonid Danilovich promised during his "inauguration ceremony," the new Cabinet of Ministers team was formed on the principle of a government of national accord based on professionals possessed by a single desire—to work. And aware that the situation in Ukraine (without overdramatizing it) leaves no time for fanciful or farfetched schemes. People have to roll up their sleeves right away. What is the first job that needs to be tackled? We discussed that question with L. Kuchma.

[Drozd] Leonid Danilovich, in your address to the Supreme Soviet you outlined three urgent and fundamental areas of the government's work. Halting the decline in production, first and foremost through consolidating economic ties with Russia. Reliance on labor collectives, and a balance between state regulation and market relations at all levels of management. Why did you highlight those three main areas in particular?

[Kuchma] Someone has already reproached me for saying that in the past we went into the store with a pocketful of money and came out with a basket of food, whereas now we go into the store with a basket of money and come out with a pocketful of food. Emotions are one thing but you have to have the courage to look the truth in the face. Quite a few people do not even have that basket of money. Workers, not to mention those who no longer work or do not work yet. What do they bring home from the store? Empty or half-empty pockets. That is also the reality. Now I do not want to investigate when this situation occurred and who is to blame for it, but I think that every honest and objective person will agree that we reached rock bottom when we abruptly broke off economic ties formed over decades, even centuries, with Russia and other republics which belonged to the USSR, when we took from millions of people their interest in the end results of their labor and shackled initiative from the industrial and rural worker through to the engineer and the leader. Trying to break free of those shackles in the present catastrophic economic situation is a difficult and thankless task. But there is no alternative. It must be done, and as soon as possible. But without using "shock therapy." That is not our way. Agreement in principle has been reached on that matter within the government. As has the understanding that we are setting to work with no vain ideas of personal sacrifice or fatalism: We know what we are doing, so to speak...

[Drozd] Were you surprised that your analysis of Ukraine's present problems and the means of resolving them did not arouse any principled or reasoned objections?

[Kuchma] Generally speaking, no. Anyway, what alternative is there to common sense? Having arguments for their own sake? Although there were attempts to do that, as you will recall. But they were snuffed out, like a candle in the wind. Without resorting to demagoguery, what counterarguments could have been cited? There were counterarguments, however, when we did not always give a balanced answer to some, admittedly, tactless statements by individual Russian leaders and in so doing punished ourselves above all, did we not? But in such situations even our side sometimes behaved childishly and quarrelled. We are quits there, I think. Because independence, as I understand it, presupposes actions which take into account and express the long-term fundamental interests of one's own people. It is precisely those interests which must be protected, we must not rashly undermine the common ties that bind, unite, and link our peoples: the economy, science, and culture. Politicians come and go but peoples remain. No one ever thinks well of those who made them vegetate, who made

them regard each other with malice and resolve misunderstandings or contradictions by force. Everyone should cherish the tranquility now reigning in Ukraine—why disrupt it?

[Drozd] This applies to journalists as much as to politicians.

[Kuchma] Undoubtedly.

[Drozd] You complained in the Supreme Soviet that the responsibility which the government is now assuming is not commensurate with its rights and that this imbalance binds the Cabinet of Ministers and you as prime minister hand and foot.

[Kuchma] When I was deputy general designer and then general director of the "Yuzhmash" Plant I was aware of the troubled state of the economy and of the existence of shadow structures. But I was not fully aware of the extent to which Ukraine's assets had been squandered until now. It is necessary to fight this evil and establish order. But what rights do I have to do that? There is no law on the Cabinet of Ministers. At local level, all power belonged to the president's representatives. Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk and I soon found a common language here, a single system of executive power is being created, and the Duma standing between the president and the head of the government has been removed. An "ozone layer" is gradually being formed which will help the Cabinet of Ministers operate in accordance with the requirements of common sense so that you do not have to beg the pardon of the Supreme Soviet or the president every time you sneeze, if you will pardon my putting it that way. But the degree of the government's autonomy is also the degree of its responsibility for the fate of Ukraine. Independence begins not only with the establishment of order in your own home but with the worthy pursuit of foreign affairs. That means without servility, which makes your partners laugh at you, and without arrogance (which is said to be necessary to demonstrate independence), condescension, and confrontation. The opportunities, potential, and talent of the Ukrainian people necessitate that, furthermore...

[Drozd] Is that why you put forward the thesis of reliance on labor collectives?

[Kuchma] And because of historical errors. You will recall that V. Vinnichenko, head of the first government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, said that one of the reasons for the downfall of his "cabinet" and for the brief life of the Ukrainian People's Republic itself was that the policy of the Central Rada clashed with the interests of millions of workers and peasants and was oriented toward the "elected," not always the "invited." It is dangerous and even criminal to ignore that lesson, especially when dealing with the Ukrainian people.

You have to take account of reality: State and collective ownership predominates in Ukraine. Therefore, we should make intelligent use of its advantages and not destroy it. That is why there must be state regulation

combined with flotation and the phased privatization of small and medium enterprises and state aid to the countryside, especially at a time when we are stabilizing the economy. First of all it is necessary to create conditions for those who have the ability and will to work, from the industrial and agricultural worker through to the leader. All past experience must be tapped. But if the state, for example, cannot give rural workers equipment or fertilizers at the moment or buy, store, and process farm produce, but at the same time calls for the development of private farming, it is behaving dishonestly, to say the least, with regard to those who "sow and store" for it.

Furthermore, the principle of planning in the economy must operate not just until we finally begin living like human beings but all the time. To me, planning does not mean issuing "schedules" from the center saying who should be doing what, right down to the nuts and bolts of things, what it means above all is the forecasting and timely adjustment (by economic methods alone) of ways to develop production. This is normal in all the developed states of the world. But we rushed into market relations without modernizing but instead destroying our well-oiled economic mechanism. The result is what you see today. Yet Ukraine has a vast scientific, technical, and information potential at its disposal. If it is used intelligently, taking into account the experience of the FRG, the United States, and China, and if we take a closer look at the practice of other countries, including Hungary among the former CEMA countries, we will soon be able to become a full-fledged partner in the world rather than a third-rate power meekly waiting for handouts in the courtyard of the mighty.

It should be pointed out that the world that we are striving to join respects those who are worthy and strong, who have a wealth of ideas on accord and cooperation, and are ready for compromise. I do not understand those people who pin undue hopes on aid from developed countries (who, for example, would go out of his way to create a competitor to himself?), nor do I understand those who complain that the West's "injections" of aid are paltry. If Ukraine forms its foreign policy activity (and here I include trade) sensibly, it has sufficient potential to become a worthy member of the world community. The more vigorously we set about restoring the damaged economic bridges with Russia and other countries of the CIS and the former CEMA, the sooner we will achieve that goal.

The government has a clear view of the tactical steps it should take. But it is equally important to be aware of the general direction of movement—the kind of society that we are building and how much time we can afford to spend on any given stage. Clearly the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet will have to answer those questions through the new Constitution. The time has come to stop wearing the people out with wrangling over the past. We must draw a line under all that and set to work.

[Drozd] In the past the newspapers, radio, and television used to sponsor large economic construction projects and programs (not without some benefit). Perhaps we could go back to the old way, taking the new conditions into account, of course?

[Kuchma] It would undoubtedly be beneficial, except that initially it is necessary to analyze what kind of construction projects and programs those would be and determine their significance to the economy. The mass media are now too highly politicized and, furthermore, not always objective. Some of them are quite frankly flirting with certain forces, far from creative forces, too, who are trying to dupe the people.

[Drozd] Do you have any wishes for PRAVDA, Leonid Danilovich?

[Kuchma] I wish it truth. The newspaper is now more interesting and objective than it used to be. I hope it can rise above the prejudices of the moment.

Article Examines Shift in Parliament's Position on Nuclear Status

MK1211091792 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian Nos. 45-46 (Signed to press 10 Nov 92) p 11

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Lartsev, candidate of philosophical sciences, and Vladimir Ruban, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Ukraine correspondent: "Ukrainian Parliament Dreams of Atom Bomb"]

[Text] The National Security Council, headed by President Kravchuk, approved Ukraine's draft military doctrine back in May this year. At last, after repeated debate in parliamentary commissions, the people's deputies examined the draft in plenary session at the end of October. And they sent it back for further work.

Many deputies believe that Ukraine will not benefit from being a nonnuclear, nonaligned [vneblokovy] state. But these were the principles that were enshrined in the Declaration of Ukrainian State Sovereignty (July 1990) and later reaffirmed in a special Supreme Soviet statement in October last year. Moreover, according to the defense minister, Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, declaring Ukraine to be a nuclear state would be out of step with its economic potential and strategic interests. As regards Ukraine's nonaligned status, the draft military doctrine proposes a compromise—in the event of aggression being prepared against Ukraine, it could act with other states to thwart any attack. But by no means everyone was satisfied with this.

Just why have the people's deputies changed their position so markedly in just a year?

Parliamentary Revenge

As the economic crisis deepens, authoritarian trends are objectively getting stronger. The authorities are trying to hang on, primarily by strengthening the Army, the state security service, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Moreover, a relatively influential military lobby has emerged of late. It is made up, on the one hand, of people's deputies who are military men (Major General Vladimir Tolubko and Lieutenant General Boris Sharikov, who, prior to 24 August 1991, opposed Ukraine's secession from the USSR and the development of national armed forces, before abruptly adopting this position), and, on the other hand, by their colleagues from the patriotic officers' union.

The failure of the draft military doctrine in the Supreme Soviet was also brought about by the fact that it was debated the day after the new government was confirmed. Premier Leonid Kuchma set deputies a tough condition—either they voted for the entire Cabinet of Ministers, or he would not be responsible for its future activities. The parliamentarians gave way, but they were to have their revenge. The examination of the draft military doctrine came (from the standpoint of the people's representatives) right on cue. At the same time, the deputies taught the president a lesson too. The majority in parliament showed Leonid Kravchuk—who is leaning toward the idea of calling early elections to the Supreme Soviet—that it is too early to write off the old parliament. Nor did the democratic opposition, which the president has played a part in fragmenting—miss the chance to make its presence felt.

Other deputies (former communists) withheld support from the draft military doctrine in order to protest the influence wielded over the Defense Ministry leadership by Vladimir Mulyava, head of the ministry's social psychology [sotsialno-psikhologicheskii] service and placeman of the national radicals, who in less than a year has been promoted from reserve-list sergeant to major general. He has not yet managed to set up an effective social psychology service designed to replace political organs, but attempts are being made to inculcate officers and warrant officers—most of whom are Russians—in the traditions of the Ukrainian insurgent army and Ukrainian nationalism. Many people do not like this.

Ukrainian Defense

The foreign policy reasons are no less important. The deputies are following with alarm the exacerbation of the political struggle in Russia and the statements made by the National Salvation Front leaders, and they believe that if the latter were to come to power, a nonnuclear and nonaligned Ukraine could find itself defenseless.

Nor is everything smooth in relations with the current Russian Federation leadership. The Yalta accords—specifically on the Black Sea Fleet—are not being implemented (and Ukrainian politicians blame the Russian side). Kiev also well remembers that recently Russia has essentially twice made territorial claims against Ukraine (last year immediately after the declaration of Ukrainian state independence, and this year at the height of the Crimea confrontation). Similar schemes are being hatched by various political forces in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland... "In order to guarantee its territorial

integrity, Ukraine needs to control at least a small nuclear potential which would act as a deterrent," the well-known radical Stepan Khmara stated from the Supreme Soviet rostrum. And he was not alone in that opinion.

Possible Maneuvers

So just how will events pan out? The Army, the military-industrial complex, and the state as a whole cannot function normally for long without a military doctrine. Without one it will be impossible even to downsize the armed forces. The president, the head of the government, and the defense minister will either have to wait for new elections to the Supreme Soviet (which will not be for at least a year) or try to persuade the present parliamentarians to accept a compromise. Clearly, it would be effective for the Defense Ministry leadership to issue a statement which would present the Supreme Soviet with a choice of either approving the draft military doctrine or rejecting the declaration of Ukraine as a nonnuclear, nonaligned state. The people's deputies would hardly be likely to assume that responsibility. But it is unlikely that Konstantyn Morozov will go for broke. This means that Ukraine will clearly have to survive for a time without a military doctrine.

Army Releases Statistics on Desertion

PM1111095392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 92 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Kaushanskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Deserters Cause Problems. The Main Staff Sorts Them Out"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Armed Forces Main Staff decided to share some rather bleak statistics with the media. According to Main Staff data, several thousand servicemen left their units and subunits in the first nine months of this year. The desertion league table is headed by conscripts from the Republic of Crimea, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Lvov, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts, and the Transcarpathian area.

Here are some figures: Some 21 percent of the fugitives are people who do not want to serve in the army at all, 19 percent are seeking a transfer to their home city or village, 18 percent ran away due to a lack of personal discipline, and 15 percent because of bullying or maltreatment by commanders.

Christian Social Union Holds Constituent Congress

LD1111200492 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Television Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] The constituent congress of the new political group Christian Social Union [ChSU] took place in Ternopol. It has been joined by the biggest regional organizations of the former Ukrainian Christian Democratic Party from Ivano-Frankovsk, Lvov, and Odessa Oblasts. The main goal of the ChSU is to introduce into state policy the principles of the Christian ethics, the national idea, and the principles of justice. In any case, this is what the documents of this party say.

Belarus**Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine Leaders To Discuss Russian Oil Policy***OW1211062692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1931 GMT 11 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The heads of government of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine will meet in Moscow on November 12th to determine what stance to take with regard to Russia's oil exporting policy, according to Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich, who was speaking to journalists on Wednesday.

Kebich expressed his bewilderment over information gained from Russian sources on the Russian leadership's apparent intention to review the agreement on energy supplies and introduce taxation on the export of oil. He made it clear that in that case the Belarusian government would be compelled to take retaliatory measures and would be "forced" to slap taxes of up to 40

on the export of commodities to Russia, depending on the level of demand for the product.

The Belarusian premier considered that the information about the pending measures to be taken by Moscow with regard to oil exports had not come from leading figures in the Russian government - namely from President Boris Yeltsin and Acting Chairman of the Government Yegor Gaydar.

Kebich announced his intention to begin next week a "radical re-shuffle of the Belarusian cabinet of ministers." He told journalists that his government was currently exercising a state monopoly on foreign trade, particularly on potash fertilizers.

Official Previews Activities, Viewpoints at CIS Summit*OW1111175892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 11 Nov 92*

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Belarusian delegation believes that among the chief problems to be discussed by the CIS heads of state in Moscow November 13 is the draft charter of the CIS, Belarusian State Secretary for CIS Affairs, Vladimir Zalomai, told Interfax in an exclusive interview. He said that the CIS member-states experience a dire need in efficient working bodies that would neither infringe on the legitimate rights and freedoms of the sovereign states, nor act as supra-state management bodies. Zalomai said that in addition to the existing ones, new working bodies are expected to be set up, among them a

coordinating committee, an economic working commission, economic court, an inter-parliamentary assembly and bodies of branch cooperation.

Zalomai said that he did not consider the recent initiative to approve a new CIS model on the basis of the states which have joined the collective-security treaty, to be an attempt to force Belarus to join this military alliance. "The position of the Belarusian leadership and parliament is well-known," he said. "Belarus has announced its plans to become a neutral nuclear-free state, so it cannot be a member of any military alliances." He also believes that despite different approaches to the set-up of the CIS, the delegates will come to an agreement.

Speaking about the agenda of the forthcoming meeting, Zalomai put a special accent on the problem of mutual recognition of the CIS visas. What is meant here is the turning of the CIS into a single visa-free entity. "There is some uncertainty about Azerbaijan and Georgia," said Zalomai. "The parliaments of these states have not ratified the basic provisions on the CIS, so it is not clear yet whether the citizens of Azerbaijan and Georgia will have the right to stay in the CIS states without entry visas, he continued. But on the whole, there will hardly be any serious disagreements on the main issues," he said in conclusion.

Kebich Tours Industrial Center; Comments on Policies*MK1111142092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Nov 92 p 1*

[Vladimir Stankevich report: "Belarus: Friendship with Russia Is Basis of Foreign Policy. Premier Recommends 'No Fuss'"]

[Text] Last Saturday Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers, toured the large industrial center of Bobruysk, Mogilev Oblast. There the premier met with workers at the "Bobruyskshina" Association and figures from the nonstate sector of the economy.

At a meeting with the latter V. Kebich stressed that "relations and friendship with Russia are the main avenue of Belarusian foreign policy." The premier reported that his deputy—Nikolay Kostikov—is currently in Tyumen, and that "although the talks have been tough, we will get the oil." The premier also touched on the position regarding foodstuffs which Belarus does not produce in sufficient quantities. As he put it, it is only thanks to the good relations with Kazakhstan that the republic has been able to buy 2 million tonnes of grain this year. Belarus bought another 30,000 tonnes of sugar in Ukraine, and another 50,000 "have been bought for us by Russia." V. Kebich added that the question of vegetable oil is being resolved too. "I can assure you that this winter there will be neither cold nor hunger," the premier summed up. At the same time, he stated that prices will continue to rise, mainly because of the increase in energy prices. The premier praised the Supreme Soviet

for having decided to refer the setting of minimum wage levels to the Council of Ministers. The Cabinet of Ministers now has a chance to react swiftly to any price surge. Vyacheslav Kebich expressed the view that even under developed market conditions a state should regulate the price of certain goods. As regards Belarus, the premier considers it justifiable to pursue this policy in respect of the main types of foodstuff so as to protect the poorer sections of the population.

The Council of Ministers chairman stated that this year Belarus has received credits worth \$1.5 billion, and will receive another \$2.5 billion next year. Vladimir Kebich considers the main condition for attracting Western investors to be the maintenance of political stability. "If we start making a fuss [buzit], no Western businessman will want to invest in our economy," the premier said.

Commenting on this last statement, I would like to draw attention to an interesting phenomenon. Political stability in Belarus has become a kind of "sacred cow" worshiped by left and right alike. Admittedly, the powers that be like to paint things as if any change of rulers would affect this notorious stability.

By all accounts the Belarusian premier sees no threat from the neocommunists. At any rate, the rallies held in all the republic's major cities on the same day—7 November—were not in any way reflected in his speeches. And although the day of the October coup is no longer a state holiday in Belarus, a considerable number of people assembled under red banners—around 15,000 in Minsk alone. Of course, the Belarusian population is the oldest in the CIS. Many pensioners—including military men—live there. But, even accounting for that factor, it should be noted that the communist idea has a considerable number of supporters in Belarus.

Parliament Introduces Military Service Law

LD1111175292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1948
GMT 10 Nov 92

[By BELINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Minsk November 10 TASS—The parliament of Belarus as of today introduced a new "Universal Military Obligation and Military Service" Law. According to it, the universal military obligation is a constitutional duty of all citizens of Belarus and it is not applicable to foreign citizens, living on the republic's territory and to stateless persons. The law stipulates military training as well as an alternative service.

New time limits have been decided for military service for a fixed period. For instance, graduates of higher educational institutions will be required to serve for one year, but subjects without higher educational qualification - for one and a half year. For soldiers, sailors, sergeants and sergeant-majors, serving on a contract basis, the service period will be two years, and for non-commissioned officers - 5 years.

According to the new law, colonel-general will be the highest rank in the republic's armed forces. The strength of the Belarusian Army will be 100 thousand.

Approves Text of Military Oath

OW1211005492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of Belarus on Tuesday approved the text of a new military oath and a term for its adoption by the republic's forces. According to a resolution of the Supreme Council, until 31 December 1992, all of the personnel of the Belarusian armed forces, border and internal forces, and the KGB must swear fealty to the people of Belarus.

Commenting on the outcome of the parliament session, Belarusian Defense Minister Colonel General Pavel Kozlovskiy noted the overwhelming importance of the resolution on the oath passed by the parliament. According to the minister, the document "addresses practically all of the questions which disturb today's officers, especially those related to their citizenship. [no closing quotation marks as received]

As the general remarked, for soldiers who for some reason cannot take the Belarusian oath, the law specifies the possibility of working on a contractual basis. The tour of duty in the armed forces has been reduced to eighteen months.

Authorities Uncover Operation Smuggling Uranium to Poland

LD1111191192 Warsaw PAP in English 0114 GMT 11
Nov 92

[Text] Kiev, Nov. 10—Belarusian authorities on Tuesday reported they had discovered a ring of smugglers trafficking Russian uranium to Poland.

According to newsmen from Minsk, Acting Prosecutor General Vladimir Kondratev said in the parliament that a Russian citizen carrying 2.5 kilograms of Uranium had been apprehended at a border crossing in Brest.

Kondratev added that the man admitted that he had smuggled to Poland three more kilograms of Uranium this year.

The prosecutor refused to disclose what was the destination of the Uranium and what would its price on the Black Market be.

Document Authorizes Opening of Embassies in Several Nations*OW1111152192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1423 GMT 11 Nov 92*

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has signed a document under which Belarus will open its embassies and consulates in Russia, Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, China, India, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine before the year ends.

The head of the Belarusian government also instructed the country's hard currency fund to pay membership dues to the U.N. and other international organizations Belarus is a member of.

The Belarusian government set up an interdepartmental commission on succession to the treaties signed by the former USSR.

The commission is to work out the country's attitude to these documents and submit its conclusions to the government and parliament. It is led by Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Astapenko.

Defense Minister Outlines Army Doctrine, Reorganization*WS0911133092 Minsk RESPUBLIKA in Russian 21 Oct 92 p 2*

[Article by the Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy under the "Residence of the Government" rubric: "Do Not Be Critical. We Have Worked out our Conception"—first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Text] The creation of the national defense system, the development of the Belarusian Armed Forces, and the future of many thousands of Belarusian servicemen of the former Soviet Army—for whom there are no positions in the Republican Army—are drawing attention of the Belarusian community, the mass media, and all the people who are not indifferent to the issue of Belarusian national defense. In light of reader requests, we asked Colonel-General Pavel Kozlovskiy, Belarusian minister of defense, to share his ideas on the creation of the Army.

Belarus wants to be a neutral, non-nuclear state and steers an independent course in the sphere of establishing the military.

It goes without saying that the prevention of war still remains a pressing issue. Peace must be protected by political means but it does not mean that Belarus has to forgo the creation of its own Army. On 30 September 1992, the Belarusian Security Council discussed military defense doctrine, and the key trends of the creation of

the Army. The financial and economic base for reforming and maintaining the Army were discussed. Special focus was placed on social guarantees for servicemen under the conditions of force reductions. The same question came up at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers on 13 October, and will be discussed at the upcoming session of the legislature. The situation is very complex, a large offensive force was deployed on the Belarusian territory, and it was intended to be the second strategic echelon in the Western theater of military operations. The maintenance of such an Army group naturally does not conform with the military and political aims of Belarus.

Guided by bilateral agreements to reduce and to reform the Armed Forces, we will turn over the strategic nuclear forces under Russian jurisdiction. This process will proceed in two stages: During the first stage (1992), we plan to disband 160, reform 107, and create six formations, units, and army institutions. We project a twofold personnel reduction. Approximately 7,000 officers will be transferred to the reserve. At the same time, we will define the strategic goals and develop specific instructions.

The second stage concerns 1993. In the first six months, we shall continue with the reduction and the reorganization of the structure of the central Defense Ministry organs, and we will create and reorganize depots for arms, equipment and stocks of material goods.

By demoting colonels to lieutenant-colonels and filling their positions with civilians, we plan to reduce the number of colonels in the Ministry of Defense by about 40 percent.

According to the Council of Ministers Decree Number 627, the number of deputy ministers of defense has been reduced from nine to six. Staff reductions are also planned at the highest levels of Army management.

At the same time, we plan to develop service regulations, combat training, instructions and other documents that regulate day-to-day Army activities, including the incorporation of Army officers and troops into the order of battle. At the conclusion of the transition period, the Army will number about 75,000 persons, of those 65,000 will be servicemen. Thus, the strength of the Belarusian Army will be optimal for carrying out its tasks. The future reforms of the Army will be closely connected with the current military and political situation.

I would like to stress that we have to make decisions about many problems which we have never before encountered. For example, we have to reduce the numerical strength of the Army strength including warrant officers and generals. The situation is further complicated by the fact that 5,302 out of 18,000 servicemen who must be transferred to the reserves have no housing. A total of 14,602 servicemen (10,475 officers and 4,127 warrant officers) are without housing. Moreover, the number of individuals without housing will be swelled by graduates from military educational establishments

(7,924 persons) and by the 5,305 servicemen returning from outside of Belarus. Even in the Minsk garrison there are 1,906 servicemen with no housing.

The Defense Ministry has the capacity to build 3,000 apartments per year. The point is that we cannot manage without the help of the state. In my opinion, providing extended loans for individual housing construction and cooperative housing, with 90 percent debt repayment from the state budget and deferred payments for 20 years, would help to break this gridlock. According to the Defense Ministry, the Supreme Council, and the Belarusian Government, a serviceman can be transferred to the reserve only if he has completed 20 years of service in the Armed Forces and has available housing. A special state program should be developed. By the way, Belarusian officers and warrant officers insist that the problem of "servicemen housing" should be discussed at the upcoming session of the Supreme Council.

The next serious problem is the employment of servicemen in the reserves. More than a hundred of military bases and facilities have become vacant. Many are without owners because the Defense Ministry has no means of keeping them up. I think that the greater number of those facilities should be handed over to the national economy. We have already started to retrain and to place retired officers in civilian jobs. In Kolodishchi, Minsk Oblast, we have opened special nine-month courses for the retraining of retired servicemen. The number of such courses will be increased. We are raising this question in the Council of Ministers so that similar courses may be organized in the oblast cities. The Defense Ministry personnel office is creating a data base of civilian vacancies in different regions of Belarus. We have received some inspiring proposals from heads of enterprises and collective farms to house and to employ officers and their families.

In addition, we asked the local executive organs to add to their balance of payments all the available housing of the Defense Ministry. This will make it possible to transfer money subsidies, which make up about 240 million rubles, to housing construction. The appropriate Decree of the Council of Ministers is being elaborated.

From May of this year, we have been dealing with such problems as housing, pensions, staffing, and material and technical supply of the Army in accordance with state decrees and resolutions. But our work is hampered by a legal vacuum in the sphere of Army building. The lack of laws on military service has an impact on the recruitment of youths to the Army, on the authority of military service, and on the increasing number of young people who do not serve in the Army.

We have analyzed the cases of infringements of Army discipline over the last nine months. The results show that the number of law infringements in the Army is constantly increasing. We are deeply concerned with

deaths, injuries, and the growing crime rate in the Belarusian Armed Forces which are connected with the hazing of new recruits. Naturally, we take appropriate measures but the lack of a legal basis complicates the situation.

The Laws "On the Status of a Serviceman", and "On Pensions for Servicemen of the Armed Forces, both Commanders and the Rank and File, and for Servicemen of the Ministry of Internal Affairs," require the support of people's deputies. Analogous laws have been adopted in Ukraine, and have been submitted for the consideration of the legislature in Russia. I would like to highlight the fact that Russia and Ukraine have done a great deal in the sphere of widening rights and privileges for servicemen. But our draft laws have also been thoroughly elaborated. It is incredible but a number of people's deputies want to suspend some rights and privileges of servicemen.

In our opinion, the financial and economic situation should not become the crucial factor in the development of military laws. We have experienced some pressure in determining the total Army strength. It is clear that the problems of economic recovery are the most urgent today, but political wisdom dictates that consideration be given to both the national budget and a secure defense. It is easy to destroy the combat efficiency of our Armed Forces but it will take dozens of years to restore it.

I am also deeply concerned when young and capable officers are leaving the Army and starting their service somewhere else, outside Belarus. Lieutenants possessing diplomas with honors and representing the cream of the Belarusian Army become businessmen and entrepreneurs. I am sure that we may put claims to servicemen only if we can define their legal and social status.

I would like to speak on one more issue. From the very beginning of our work on creation of the Belarusian Army, the Ministry of Defense has been experiencing a definite pressure from the side of some radical politicians. Currently, they are spreading the ideas of nationalism and accuse generals and officers for not taking the military oath to the people of Belarus.

What is more, on 8 September, 1992, when the Belarusian People's Front organized the voluntary swearing in of officers, an appeal was declared to create rank and file committees of insubordination to the officers who had not yet taken the loyalty oath to Belarus. Political games on the loyalty oath create an unnecessary sensation because nobody denies the urgency of swearing in. In July of this year, the Defense Ministry adopted a resolution to introduce a motion to the Belarusian Supreme Council and to the Belarusian Government to swear in Belarusian servicemen by the end of this year. We strongly believe that the oath should be taken consciously and not under emotions. We decided to swear in Belarusian servicemen only after the session of the Supreme Council passes the laws on military building, status of servicemen, and defines the military doctrine.

From time immemorial, the Army has been the honor of a state. People strengthened, protected, and were proud of their Army. But our Army is now experiencing quite a different attitude. Have a look at our Republican media. Everyone is criticizing and abusing the Armed Forces. But why is the Army blamed? The aim of such a policy is to unite the Army and the politics. But I would like to recall that the Board of the Defense Ministry has declared that the Belarusian Armed Forces are outside politics. We are sure that the legislative session will support us and make up a legal basis for the lawful separation of the Army from politics.

Finally, the mass media has been raising the issue of power abuses by some high-ranking military officials. Yes, there are many such cases. We do not deny them. The Defense Ministry has criticized these occurrences. The persons who performed such actions were dismissed from their posts and are under legal investigation. In the nearest future, their actions will be juridically evaluated. But it is absurd to blame the whole Army. I declare that the majority of generals, officers, and warrant officers are honest, decent people, devoted to the motherland. Our attitude toward power abuses remains the same. We will do everything to cleanse the Army and make it healthy.

Kazakhstan

National Conference on Constitution Opens in Alma-Ata

LD1111143292 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] A republic conference of heads of administrations and chairmen of rayon, city, and oblast soviets of peoples deputies started work today in Alma-Ata. It was opened by Serikbolsyn Abdildin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The agenda of this representative conference, Abdildin said, contains really important questions of state life. The aim is to exchange once again views on the results of public discussion of the republic's draft constitution and about the principled amendments made to it.

The conference participants have a unique chance to express their opinions as citizens on the problems of defense of rights and freedoms and as leaders on issues connected with the separation of powers, securing their interaction to the peoples' benefit, and strengthening of state structures. It is very important as well to inform citizens of how their remarks and proposals have been taken into consideration. This will help during the Supreme Soviet sessions in December which will consider the draft constitution in the second reading. They will discuss the way of economic reforms, the ways of solving urgent problems which are engendered particularly by objective reasons and in some cases by errors made, striving to copy experience of others. In this connection an essential correction should be made in tactics and methods of bringing about economic reforms.

At the conference Nursultan Nazarbayev, president and chairman of the Constitution Committee, delivered a speech on the draft constitution of the republic of Kazakhstan. Heads of administrations took part in the discussion of the report.

Supporting the elaborated draft constitution in the main, speakers suggested the introduction of some amendments and specifications. All of them will be thoroughly taken in due consideration by the Constitutional Committee and finally by the parliament session, since this is a document of great importance which will determine the republic's development for many years ahead.

After the discussion the president delivered a final speech. Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, Prime Minister Tereshchenko, the vice chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the deputy prime minister, government members, chairmen of parliamentary committees, people's deputies, senior officials from central state bodies, scientists and public figures are taking part in the conference. The conference is continuing.

Nazarbayev Supports Endeavors

LD1111102592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Konstantin Borodinov for TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 10 TASS—Kazakhstan needs a constitution to unite people. Neither item of the constitution must provoke discord, stir up tension in society and provoke confrontation, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told representatives of the Alma-Ata authorities today.

A draft fundamental law of the former Soviet Central Asian republic has been elaborated for two years. During this time it has underwent a profound improvement by local specialists and an independent foreign examination.

Kazakhstan has a unique multi-national composition, the natives - ethnic Kazakhs - run into a little less than a half of the republican population. It is not a surprise, the problem of languages' status has provoked the majority of responses during the constitution's preparation.

The president stressed the Kazakh leadership's policy is aimed to "ensure the equality of all people in the multi-national state", and said at the same time "the state language in the republic shall be Kazakh. The republic shall provide for free functioning of the Russian language alongside the state language.

"Citizens are guaranteed the use of their native language. It shall be prohibited to limit rights and freedoms of citizens on reason of their non-knowledge of the state language."

The problem of the Russian language status has grown extremely acute in some former Soviet republics, primarily the new Baltic states; it has become a reason for serious discrimination as regards the numerous Russian-speaking population.

"It would be naive to form the constitution for many years to come, but it should become a solid basis for progress under conditions of formation of democratic society and establishment of market relations," said nazarbayev.

"We must not lose touch with reality or forget one leap from totalitarianism decades to mature democracy is impossible. In this case, it seems one must make a concession to mass conscience."

Highlights National Advantages

OW1211005392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kazakh President believes that if the CIS countries do not manage to stop the industrial recession they will face the sharpest crisis identical to that which

the world economy experienced in the thirties. But at the session of the heads of administrations and the chairmen of the local Councils in Alma-Ata, he declared that in comparison with other CIS countries Kazakhstan enjoyed several advantages. In particular, there are "enormous reserves of natural resources, beneficial geographical position, political stability, and high authority among the advanced world countries." The President underlined that the government had developed a program of urgent anti-crisis measures and deepening of social-economic reforms.

Stresses Independent Development Path

OW1211023592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An "independent road to development" in Kazakhstan has been proposed in an urgent anti-crisis and social and economic reform intensification programme in the republic, according to Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Nazarbayev was speaking at a conference of the heads of local administration and representatives of local councils which ended in Alma-Ata on Wednesday. He said that the search for an independent road to economic development had been influenced by the fact that the Commonwealth states were not geared towards economic integration, and that Kazakhstan's proposals for the co-ordination of the economies of the the Commonwealth nations were not accepted at the top-level Bishkek summit.

Other reasons for this move were, according to the president, "the disintegration of the overall economic zone", the loss of communication with countries belonging to the old COMECON, and the destruction of the monetary system.

Nazarbayev admitted that mistakes had been made in Kazakhstan's economic policy when it would have been better to follow "step by step behind its neighbours". "Russia, for instance, had dragged Kazakhstan into shock therapy at the worst time," he continued.

Kazakh Premier Sergey Tereshchenko has announced that the programme would determine government tactics for the years 1993-1995. The first stage, in 1993, should see a reduction in the rate of inflation to the "minimal permissible level", a halt in the slump in manufacturing, new pre-conditions for the growth of manufacturing and the softening of the consequences of transition for socially vulnerable sections of society.

Tereshchenko on Anti-Crisis Measures

LD1111142692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent Fyodor Ignatov for TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 11 TASS—Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko of Kazakhstan has suggested a

government programme for urgent anti-crisis measures and deeper socio-economic reforms for an economic stabilisation and transition-to-market period. He spoke on Wednesday at a republican conference of the administrations chiefs and local councils' executives.

The ultimate goal of the three-year programme is to mould genuine market mechanisms and socially-oriented economy, pursue an increasingly independent economic policy that would meet national interests, promote the republic's integration into the world economy and, on that basis, create conditions for improving the people's life.

The government's main priority is action to combat inflation. Much attention in the programme is given to a state price-regulation policy. With an overall decrease in the rate of value-added tax, it is suggested that the amount of taxation privileges be cardinally reduced. At the same time the government will begin to practise state loans and the sale of treasury securities with a view to increasing the budget revenue.

The prime minister referred to the privatisation of state property as the centrepiece of a radical economic reform.

The government intends to take all necessary measures to keep intact the common economic space of the republics of the former Soviet Union, within the framework of which matters pertaining to an unimpeded movement of commodities, capital and the rendering of services must be settled.

At the same time a number of strategic commodities, produced and made resultant of non-renewable sources, are to be exported through the republic's own single state establishment. Only in this way the economic interests of the state can be upheld, Tereshchenko maintains.

Nazarbayev Briefs French Official on National Stability

OW1111104592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1735 GMT 10 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has said that he was convinced that political and national stability was of prime importance for reforms in a multi-national state like Kazakhstan to be successfully implemented. Nazarbayev made this statement at a meeting with Jean-Claude Calier, the chief advisor to the chairman of the French Constitutional Council, and stressed that stability in the republic was inconceivable without firm authority.

Regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the parliamentary and presidential methods of government, Nazarbayev said that Kazakhstan needed the latter in

view of the current situation in the republic as this would enable the rigorous enforcement of laws in the regions to take place via the heads of regional administration.

Nazarbayev attached importance to the popularly elected president and government being allowed to see their period of office through to the end. He emphasised that if, in the future, a political party were to surface which represented the majority of the nation, then he, the head of state, would, in turn, represent the interests of that party.

Regarding the judicial system, Nazarbayev stressed that a clear division of the functions of legislative and executive power and the supreme, constitutional and arbitration courts could be seen in the republic. This, in his opinion, was the only way to deal successfully with any political and economic disputes and guarantee real democracy in the republic.

The French legal expert in turn informed the Kazakh president about reforms to take place shortly in the French judicial system.

Prime Minister Signs Cooperation Agreement With Turkmenistan

LD1111105492 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 0752 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Talks have been held in Alma-Ata between government delegations from Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Both sides confirmed their aspiration to maintain and develop reciprocal trading and economic ties on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage.

Accords were reached on direct cooperation between individual economic organizations and state-controlled bodies within the framework of their competence in mutually supplying output and raw material and in what volumes on the basis of international trade rules. There was discussion of conditions for making changes to the procedure for calculations and payments in the event of either of the republics introducing a national currency. The rules for transportation and transit of goods through the territories of the two neighboring states and certain other problems of interest to both sides were discussed.

Sergey Tereshchenko, prime minister of Kazakhstan, and Dzhorakuly Babakulyev, deputy head of the government of Turkmenistan, signed an agreement between the two republics on the principles for trade and economic cooperation.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Argues Case for Strong Executive

MK1111160092 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 45-46, 15 Nov 92 (Signed to Press 10 Nov 92) p 12

[Interview with President Askar Akayev by correspondent Asal Azamovoy; date, place not given: "Kyrgyz

President Askar Akayev Talks to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Correspondent Asal Azamovoy"]

[Text] Askar Akayev is a unique politician. A president "without a team," without a party, a mild-mannered man, inclined to compromise, who has been able in a traditional oriental society to take the first steps toward liberalization. It has not been easy: The opposition among the nomenklatura and bureaucracy is gathering forces to wage a determined battle against the president and his view of Kyrgyzstan's future state system.

[Azamovoy] In Bishkek, as in Moscow, conflict between the executive and the legislature is at a peak height. The draft constitution that you submitted for discussion aroused a storm of criticism from the Supreme Soviet. People have begun talking about "Akayev's quiet move toward dictatorship." What is the crux of the dispute?

[Akayev] The claims about "Akayev's dictatorship" are a smokescreen. What is behind it? The Supreme Soviet, where the majority of deputies are members of the former party nomenklatura, is afraid of a strong, independent executive led by a president—and that is precisely what my draft constitution envisages. I acted on the premise that without a strong executive there can be no economic and political reforms and no state. The Supreme Soviet backs alternative draft constitutions where the parliament has the president and the government totally under its jurisdiction and appoints officials not only to prominent, but also to insignificant posts. Thus, according to the Supreme Soviet's draft, Kyrgyzstan will be a parliamentary republic where the president is allocated a purely symbolic role. There is no question of any independence for the legislature, the executive, or the judiciary.

[Azamovoy] Today the president is a democrat, but tomorrow another man may come along who may not use strong presidential power for democratic purposes. That is why the parliament should be vested with greater authority.

[Akayev] My opponents proceed on the premise that future elections will form a truly democratic parliament. I say to them: That will not happen. The result of the election will be that people currently sitting in the Supreme Soviet—the former elite—will come to power. Democrats are weak, but the people of yesteryear have clan ties and money. They will play on people's nostalgia for the times when "you could get everything." That is who will effectively have power tomorrow if the new constitution limits the powerful counterbalance of the executive and makes it subordinate to the Supreme Soviet. I made an appeal to the people in which I mentioned the danger of the restoration of totalitarianism.

[Azamovoy] People are saying that you yourself helped conservatives to gain the upper hand in the Supreme Soviet. Democratic deputies, who elected you president, have become members of the government and have lost their seats as deputies.

[Akayev] I had no other way out; there were no other cadres. A reform government had to be created. I was after all a president without a team.

[Azamovoy] What factors are influencing reform in Kyrgyzstan?

[Akayev] Primarily the conservative wing of the Supreme Soviet. They have clans, capital, and ties behind them. They represent a real force. We are conscious to a lesser extent of the influence of the national democratic forces: Their social support is weak.

[Azamovoy] Are there forces in Kyrgyz society on which you can rely?

[Akayev] Yes, the entrepreneurs. They have organized a congress of entrepreneurs and an association of peasant owners. These forces will have a social base and will in a few years be able to become the bulwark of democracy. They also support me.

[Azamovoy] One of your closest comrades-in-arms said: "If we can hold out three or four years, the seeds of freedom will produce shoots."

[Akayev] There is now a real danger of a return to the old ways. The most critical moment comes at the 18-month mark. Our conservative opponents are after all perfectly well aware that time is on our side. Kyrgyzstan is the only member of the CIS to have met with total support from the IMF. We have developed a program for economic reconstruction designed to change the structure of production and create production units to produce goods that can take the place of imports. We managed to get it through the Supreme Soviet. The IMF has promised \$300-400 million in credits. That is a modest figure, but these organizations' support is of fundamental importance. If we implement two projects in 1993, the republic will be fully self-sufficient in sugar in 1994. That will keep the people going somehow. Next year we will start up an oil refinery in Osh Oblast, reducing the strain in the south. We have put the first tonne of gold in a Swiss bank. I asked the Swiss to open banks in Kyrgyzstan; that gold will be the guarantee. We got the relevant law through the Supreme Soviet after a struggle.

[Azamovoy] Askar Akayevich, wasn't there a temptation to follow neighboring presidents' examples and use your authority rather than waste time on persuasion? You do of course have the power?

[Akayev] I do have the power, but dictatorial methods are unacceptable to us. You have to be true to yourself, you must not give up, otherwise you lose the most important thing. There are no restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or on parties' activity in the republic. I am criticized, and I think that is fine. You must not stifle the first shoots of democracy.

[Azamovoy] You have said that liberalization is Kyrgyzstan's only trump card. Is it in return for liberalization that the republic is receiving credit and aid?

[Akayev] We cannot interest foreign investors with natural resources. They exist, but they have to be explored. Moreover, not everyone wants these raw materials. The Japanese have for instance refused our gold. In their eyes Kyrgyzstan has another advantage: Japanese entrepreneurs regard the republic as a springboard for their economic leap into Central Asia. I regard Japan as a promising partner, although it is very hard to attract. But we do have and will continue to have an advantageous geopolitical situation, the natural resources needed for science-intensive technologies, and educated cadres, and this gives us hope that cooperation is possible in the future.

[Azamovoy] Incidentally, now a word about education. You described it as a top priority, although the republic sometimes lacks the money for the most essential commodities.

[Akayev] That is why we now have to think about education, otherwise we will never escape from our poverty. We do not begrudge money spent on education. The Japanese have also noticed that. On the other hand, there is a factor that we had not suspected. Japanese entrepreneurs tell me: "You are a nice man and we would like to work with you, but things here are so quiet and peaceful that we are afraid of getting out of shape. We need to constantly feel our rivals at our elbow: That is why we work in Europe and America." Kyrgyzstan has a very great need of Japanese high technology, but I realize that this cannot happen rapidly. Japan constitutes a long-term partner. Everyone in the CIS is now seeking partners in order to rapidly grab something. We are doing this too, but we do at the same time need to think about the future.

[Azamovoy] Don't you expect the Commonwealth to break up in time?

[Akayev] No, I don't think so. The CIS may acquire a new configuration. The meeting in Bishkek determined a core of close partners. The Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, and Russia have formed a single political and economic area hitherto, and we still need one another.

[Azamovoy] Kyrgyzstan's economy is dependent on Russia. Is the reverse also true?

[Akayev] To a very small extent. Russia is a powerful country that can stand on its own two feet independently. The geopolitical interests that bind it to Central Asia are another matter.

[Azamovoy] What about the fact that almost 1 million Russian-speakers live in Kyrgyzstan?

[Akayev] That has little effect on relations between our republics. Especially since I have never tried to use the Slav card, even by allusion. Civil peace and stability are of value in themselves; they are the foundation of our further economic and social development.

[Azamovoy] Your opponents reproach you with being overly attached to Russia. These recriminations are being used with renewed vigor in connection with the October opening of the Slav university.

[Akayev] There have been long press debates. Guys from the "Asaba," "Ashar," and "Erkin Kyrgyzstan" parties kicked up a hullabaloo in my office. We probably spent around three hours arguing. Then the apparatchiks told me: "How can you allow this: This is the president's office after all, not a youth club!" I think there is a need for argument and demonstration of proof. I did after all ultimately persuade the guys of the need for this university.

[Azamovoy] But is it really necessary? As you know, there are more than enough Russian-language teachers in the republic.

[Akayev] But the university will not be training philologists. We are calling on prominent scientists, economists, and mathematicians and we are gathering groups of students to follow their programs. People of various ethnic groups will study at the university, but in Russian. The university is of benefit to Kyrgyzstan from all angles: We cannot send people to Moscow and Leningrad: That is expensive, that is why we are bringing scientists here. We are unable to subscribe to scientific journals, but the Russian Academy of Sciences is now providing them free of charge. People say to me: "The Kyrgyz language is the state language. Do we have to write, speak, and study in that language?" Who is standing in their way? Please. But who will read your scientific works in Kyrgyz? Take Japanese scientists: They all write in English, not hieroglyphics. For us Russian remains—and will do so for a long time by virtue of objective factors—the language enabling us to join world civilization, although English has begun to be studied very intensively in the republic and I think that our children will be able to speak it. But for now we must act on the basis of reality.

[Azamovoy] Isolationist sentiments and ethnic exclusivity have been provoked by the fact that national sentiment was belittled under Communism and Russification was inculcated.

[Akayev] Yes, but we must not forget something else—Russian academics have made a tremendous contribution to studying and preserving the Kyrgyz culture and language. I studied at a rural school, and when I came to Leningrad to study I didn't know Russian. I used a dictionary compiled by two academics who knew Kyrgyz better than the Kyrgyz—Yudakhin and Batmanov.

When I talk to the guys from "Asaba" and "Ashar" about this, it makes me sad. These guys are not to blame for their ignorance.

[Azamovoy] What is your prediction: How will the conflict between the president and the Supreme Soviet end?

[Akayev] We will probably reach a compromise, but as a result we will get a weakened, amorphous executive which, like a sunflower, will turn toward the people who are stronger at the time. That will retard reforms. But... I believe that we will find a solution.

Government Signs Collaboration Agreements With Moldova

OW1211022792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrgyzstan and Moldova signed agreements in Bishkek Wednesday on foundations for interstate collaboration and on trade and economic relations. At negotiations held beforehand Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev and Moldovan President Mircea Snegur noted that the documents cover all spheres of relations and lay a foundation for mutually beneficial relations, especially in economics.

The Moldovan president noted that Moldova's and Kyrgyzstan's views coincide on issues of collective security, economic reforms, and the political situations in various regions.

At negotiations the parties also discussed the problems of national separatism and the ensuring of rights for the Russian speaking populations in their states.

Tajikistan

Government Statement on Resignation, Call for Cease-Fire

LD1011185492 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Statement to the citizens of Tajikistan issued by members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan and members of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan in Dushanbe on 10 November]

[Text] Dear compatriots, the unstable situation in the republic has become even more unstable and more worrying during the past few days. The war of fratricide is intensifying in the Vakhsh valley and some regions of the Gissar valley. The streets in Dushanbe are full of refugees. The danger of the nation and state's destruction is still threatening the destiny of Tajik people. We—members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic—have gathered here today and, having analyzed the complicated and turbulent situation, have reached a conclusion that is brought to your attention as follows:

1. The destiny of ours—the inhabitants of Tajikistan—is alone and alone in our own hands. No other state and no other people could resolve it.

2. In view of the fact that a section of the inhabitants of the republic regard part of the present government of Tajikistan as illegal and have expressed no confidence in it, we, members of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic, state that we give up our powers in order to enable peoples' deputies to elect new members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and of the government of the republic during a session of the Supreme Soviet scheduled for 16 November of the current year.

We will continue to perform our duties until the formation of the new Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the republic for the stability of the political and economic situation.

3. We respectfully request all the opposition groups to declare a general cease-fire throughout the republic as of 0800 on 11 November this year; and these groups should assist in convening the Majlis of people's representatives and the session of the Supreme Soviet.

With the hope and desire of prosperity for the people of Tajikistan and safety of the Tajik nation.

[Signed] Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan and members of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Explains Government Resignation

OW1211054992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government and the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, having tendered their resignations November 10 "will direct all efforts to securing a quorum of the parliamentary session planned for November 16." Deputy Chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Akhmadzhon Sayidov reported this in an interview with INTERFAX Wednesday in Dushanbe.

He said the decision on additional powers was not an easy one for members of the presidium and the Cabinet of Ministers, but in the end it was adopted unanimously. "The (Tajikistan) leadership has made a step toward stopping the fratricidal war and toward beginning the search for a peaceful settlement of the conflict," noted Sayidov.

The reaction of the warring factions to the resignation is still unknown, he said, since in the regions of Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Tajik television and radio programs are not being broadcast.

The agenda for Tajikistan's upcoming parliamentary session includes, in accordance with demands from representatives of the Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab regions, the issues of the legitimacy of the republic's current leadership headed by Akbarsho Iskandarov, and the legality of the process which stripped former president Rakhman Nabiyeu of power.

Russian Commander Resigns From State Council

LD1011153592 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1508 GMT 10 Nov 92

[By KHOVAR correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe November 10 TASS—General Mukhriddin Ashurov, commander of the 201st Russian Motorised Rifle Division, announced on Tuesday that he quits the State Council of Tajikistan. He was deputy chairman of the State Council.

General Ashurov told reporters that "Russian military continue to observe neutrality in Tajikistan. They do not interfere in the political conflict". To explain his leaving the State Council which was formed on November 6 by the decree of Acting President of the Republic Akbarsho Iskandarov, General Ashurov said that he is a professional military and is not after power, that his withdrawal is neither a political twist nor cowardice. The division is essentially the only organized military unit in the republic in which internecine war is raging. The situation remains difficult.

On November 9, an armed group threatening with an explosion captured "Regar-500" substation through which electricity is supplied to Tajikistan from neighbouring Uzbekistan. The seizure of the substation puts in jeopardy the activity in Tajikistan which generates only four billion kilowatt hours of electricity a year, while consuming 21 billion kilowatt hours.

A limited supply of electricity is now fed to industrial enterprises. What is more, workers of the Nurek and Baipaz hydro power stations are about to strike since there is no guarantee for safety of workers because of armed conflicts. There is no access to the southern power grid situated in the Kurgan-Tyube region.

At the same time, reports from Kurgan-Tyube, the centre of the Vakhsh valley, say that there are some signs of the stabilisation of urban life there. The local bakery resumed operation on Tuesday. Its collective has been able to set in motion the half-destroyed bakery within a few days. Republican radio says that work for the restoration of the national economy is underway in Kurgan-Tyube. Gas, running water and electricity are supplied to houses in Kurgan Tyube.

Still combat operations continue in the Kurgan-Tyube region. Tens of thousands of people in war-torn districts had to flee from their homes. Arriving in Dushanbe, they demand that the government take urgent measures to stop bloodshed.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Holds Session With Party, Movement Leaders

LD1111134892 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] A joint session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and leaders of political parties and people's movements

and national communities of Tajikistan was held today. Here are the details in a report by our correspondent.

[Correspondent] The session (?was chaired) by Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Ahmadzhon Sayidov, who talked about the aims of this session.

[Begin Sayidov recording, in Russian] In connection with the fact that we have set a date for holding a session of the Supreme Soviet, there was a proposal to hold a meeting with political parties, movements and national communities to talk about (?the situation) [words indistinct] and points which will be raised at the session as well as points (?needing to be resolved). The second task [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Correspondent] It should be noted that representatives of nearly all political parties, movements, and national communities were present at this session. Answering a question from one of those present, Sayidov reported on the political situation in the republic at present and on the work of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in preparing for the session.

Then representatives of the Communist Party, the Democratic Party, the Rastokhez, Vatan, and La'li Badakhshon popular movements and the Ukrainian and Korean communities put forward their proposals. There were many proposals and ideas. But there was one constant theme: that the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet must be called a session for national salvation. For whether or not Tajikistan will be a single independent state will depend on its decisions. Therefore the agenda must be thoroughly thought out and prepared.

All sides (?showed a great interest) in what form the government should take and whether there should be presidential or parliamentary rule. Those present were informed that it is possible that the question of suspending the activity of political parties and movements will be on the agenda. (Batonazarov), a representative of the Democratic Party, noted that this would not be the way to bring about the stabilization of the situation. What we need today is peace and measures to preserve the statehood of Tajikistan.

(Dinoshoyev), a representative of the Communist Party, then spoke. He said that what the republic needs today is a strong government capable of governing. Anarchy (?has led) to neutrality on the part of the law enforcement bodies and disturbances in Dushanbe (?and threatens) the republic with civil war. (?Every workplace) votes for the State Council. This government body should conclude an agreement with parties and movements. Any party which subsequently violates this agreement should be made to answer for doing so.

Abdulloyev, adviser to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet put forward a very (?important) proposal. It is possible that the question of the legality of the overthrow of President Nabiyeu, for example, or the introduction of peacekeeping forces, he noted, may be included in the broad discussion. Therefore it is (?absolutely) necessary

for all forces operating on the territory of Tajikistan to be included in work on preparing the agenda for the session, including the conflicting armed sides, the Qaziate, and representatives of the regions. Even field commanders should take part in this great work.

Why, he asked, aren't representatives of the Islamic Rebirth Party taking part in today's session. It is the most powerful political party in Tajikistan. Those taking part in the session supported this proposal since as Shabdolov, chairman of the Presidium of the Communist Party put it, (?a drowning man will clutch at straws). In this case two questions arise: If work to prepare the Supreme Soviet session is still far from being completed, and this was confirmed at the session, then wasn't the Supreme Soviet Presidium in too big a hurry to set the date for the Supreme Soviet session on 16 November? Secondly, will the 16th session of the Tajik Supreme Soviet be the straw which will save drowning policy and save the statehood of the Republic of Tajikistan?

Constitutional Committee Statement Elaborates Concerns

LD1111191692 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Statement to the chairman and the Presidium of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet issued by Imamov, chairman of the Constitutional Supervisory Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan]

[Text] The deterioration of the socio-political situation in the republic has resulted in the constitution and other laws of the Republic of Tajikistan not being observed. This means that the state authorities and law enforcement bodies cannot ensure the rights and freedoms of the inhabitants of the Republic of Tajikistan.

In view of the fact that the state independence and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Tajikistan are facing a real threat, and since the constitutional rights and freedoms of the individual are being trampled on, the Constitutional Supervisory Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan has cause to be worried and thus regards it as necessary to state the following:

First, over the past one and one-half to two months, the acting president of Tajikistan has issued a number of decrees which ought to have been proposed for confirmation to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan. The decisions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan should also have been proposed for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Second, a resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan is necessary in order to legitimize the activities of the government of the Republic of Tajikistan and other state authorities of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Third, the work of preparing and completing the new constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan has almost stopped. The creation of a democratic, legally-based, and secular state is not possible without adopting the new constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan and, on its basis, holding elections for a new parliament and for the president of Tajikistan.

In view of all this, the Constitutional Supervisory Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan proposes that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan make all efforts to convene a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan in the shortest possible time. Since further postponement of this session will result in further piling up of unresolved legal problems and trampling on the rights and freedoms of the inhabitants of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Constitutional Supervisory Committee regards it necessary to suspend the committee's activity until the convening of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan.

[Signed] Imamov, chairman of the Constitutional Supervisory Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan

Defense Ministry Calls for Unity Among Military Formations

LD1211121392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0645 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—The Tajik KHOVAR news agency circulated an appeal today from the republic's Defense Ministry to all leaders of staff and self-defense detachments located on Tajikistan's territory. It says that force of arms was used as a result of disagreements that exist among various groupings, occasioning much destruction and spilling of blood of innocent fellow-countrymen, and an enormous loss has been inflicted on the economy. The appeal contains a call to leaders of staff of self-defense detachments to register in the Defense Ministry and unite under a single command.

Russian Troops Remain Neutral After Government Quits

PM1211144492 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 92 p 1

[Report by Anatoliy Ladin and Aleksandr Pelts: "Tajikistan: Still a Chance To Reach Agreement on a Cease-Fire. But It Is the Last Chance"]

[Text] The Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium and members of the government of national reconciliation have resigned en bloc. This decision was made late in the evening of 10 November at an emergency joint session, in the course of which the political and economic situation that has arisen in the republic as a result of the continuing civil war was discussed.

This step, as was stated at the joint session, was taken on the eve of an emergency session of the parliament and Assembly primarily in order to preserve the nation's integrity and prevent the disintegration of its statehood, since a significant proportion of the republic's population does not recognize these organs of official power and is continuing the armed struggle, demanding their resignation.

Thus the sociopolitical situation in the republic has again changed drastically. Tajikistan, torn by many months of fratricidal warfare, has failed to find peaceful solutions to the internal conflict, and now it could be said that only one chance remains to stabilize the situation: the extraordinary 16th session of the republic Supreme Soviet and the Assembly of People's Representatives (Majlis), planned for 16 November.

Will this chance be taken? In the present situation it is difficult to make any predictions, because every day events occur in the republic that have drastic effects on the general situation and the distribution of forces. Only one thing is obvious, namely that in recent days the official authorities have been doing everything they can to avoid exacerbating an already critical situation. Evidence of this is the replies to the ultimatums from leaders of the three rayons in the Gissar Valley, transmitted via a representative of the 201st Division.

At our correspondent's request, Lieutenant Colonel Anatoliy Ivlev, assistant commander of the division for personnel work, commented on the official authorities' replies.

"The State Council agrees to suspend its activity and submit the question of its future to a sitting of the Supreme Soviet session. Pending the commencement of the session, Akbarsho Iskandarov proposes that the Russian leadership and the command of the 201st Division be asked to ensure public order in the republic. [no closing quotation mark as published]

The duties of commandant of the city have been entrusted to Lt. Col. A. Sabirov, military commandant of the Dushanbe Garrison. A Supreme Soviet commission, in conjunction with the republic prosecutor's office, has been instructed to formulate a mechanism for simultaneously disarming all illegally formed groupings and to submit corresponding proposals to the session for discussion.

The demand to suspend the activity of all political parties and movements until the election of a new government has been met. There were also positive responses to other demands in the Gissar leaders' ultimatums.

However, it seems that even these measures are not working yet. It has become known from reliable sources that immediately after the announcement of the government's resignation, in the region of Kafirnigan (Ordzhonikidzeabad) the opposing side launched an offensive against the Kulyabs. The Chermozak pass was occupied and the Kulyabs were pushed back to the river

Bakhsh. Fighting is continuing in the center of Nurek, involving the use of grenade-throwers.

Armed clashes are also continuing in certain other regions, but they are particularly fierce in Kabodiyenskiy and Pyandzhskiy Rayons (Kurgan-Tyube Oblast) and also in the suburban Gissarskiy and Fegarskiy Rayons. Both sides have powerful arms, including Stingers. Refugees claim that the antigovernment groupings are even using helicopters.

In these conditions the resignation of the parliament presidium and the government of Tajikistan can hardly radically affect the stabilization of the situation. For the time being it is more a question of creating the most favorable conditions possible for the work of the extraordinary session of the republic Supreme Soviet and Assembly.

This is also indirectly confirmed by proposals that executive power be transferred in its entirety for the duration of the parliament session to the command of the Russian 201st Motorized Infantry Division. Having lost all confidence in the official authorities, the leaders of certain armed formations and movements see Russian troops as the only force really capable of stopping the bloodshed.

However, this proposal will hardly meet with understanding among the division's leadership. The Russian troops, continuing to fulfill their peacekeeping functions, are still maintaining total neutrality.

Russian Deputy Commander Announces Switch to Contract System

OW1011154992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 10 Nov 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" prepared by correspondents A. Borodin, D. Voskoboynikov, and I. Porshnev—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's 201st motorized infantry division stationed in Tajikistan "will be one of the first, if not the first, to adopt the contract system," Eduard Vorobyev, First Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Russia's land forces, told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] correspondent. This process is likely to begin in about a month, he said.

According to some analysts interviewed by DP's correspondent, transition to the contract system might lead to the possibility that Russian servicemen in Tajikistan will cease being strict enough in maintaining neutrality in the local conflict. However E. Vorobyev pointed out that, if they violate the policy of neutrality, the mercenaries "will get punished for this, up to being prosecuted". Contracts with the servicemen will evidently be signed for a period of "at least two years".

When DP's correspondent asked Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev what he thought about the transition of Russian servicemen stationed in Tajikistan to the

contract system, he said that "one danger or another lurks around us constantly." According to the Foreign Minister, "our life is like that in a fairy-tale forest: monsters emerge from every side as soon as you enter it. But we have to go through this forest nevertheless." At the same time the head of Russian diplomacy noted "that Russian officers and privates serving in Tajikistan have a high sense of responsibility. And this is the best sign that everything will be all right," he stressed.

Uzbekistan

Tashkent Censors All Local, Moscow-Based Press

PM1011151992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov: "Entire Mass Media Subjected to Censorship in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Tashkent—The Fergana militia have arrested a group of hunger strikers in front of the city's Khokimlik (City Hall). The 22 people on hunger strike, including members of "Erk," the opposition party officially registered at the local Justice Ministry, have demanded that the authorities abolish censorship in the republic media and stop persecuting dissidents. The act of protest was peaceful: However, the guardians of law and order were ordered to use force—they beat up the hunger strikers mercilessly, and carried out arrests. Activist Gani Mamatkhonov, member of the "Erk" Fergana Oblast Soviet, was hospitalized with warning signs of a heart attack but was brought into the detention room a day later.

The local authorities have tightened up censorship not only for their own media but also, strange as it may seem, for those Russian publications which, being decentralized, are printed in Tashkent and distributed from there around the republic and neighboring regions of other republics. Things have gotten as far as putting local censors on evening duty at the rotary-printing workshop of the "SHARK" Publishing House and Printing Base. And the nature of this evening shift is far from innocent: After perusing the transparencies [diapozitiv] of the pages of IZVESTIYA, PRAVDA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, and other publications sent over from Moscow by fax [fototelegraf] (material concerning Uzbekistan comes under particular scrutiny), they simply slap on a veto pending agreement on the question "from on high."

Moreover, it is precisely for political motives that the 1993 subscription campaign for IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, which to all intents and purposes have become persona non grata in the republic, were not launched this year, although subscription campaigns for other Russian publications did take place. In response to indignant questions from subscribers on the freedom to choose information sources, representatives of the authorities

say: "We are a sovereign state. We will ban whatever we want, and we will permit whatever we want."

India Increases Credit Limit to \$10 Million

*OW1011131092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1136
GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government of India has decided to increase the volume of credit to Uzbekistan from \$3 million to

\$10 million, Indian Trade Minister Salman Khurshid reported on Monday in Tashkent during a meeting with Uzbek Vice Premier Bakhtiyar Khamidov.

The Indian guest expressed the opinion that both countries should improve relations, particularly in the area of agriculture. India could share its experience in processing fruits and vegetables with Uzbekistan, said Khurshid. Another important sphere of bilateral cooperation, he added, might be tourism.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Views Government's Goals, Karabakh, Military

OW1111175392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420
GMT 11 Nov 92

["Exclusive" interview with Levon Ter-Petrosyan by unidentified reporter; date, place not given; from "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX]: What are the cause and goal of the current reorganization in the Armenian government?

TER-PETROSYAN: When the Armenian parliament adopted the Declaration of Independence in August 1990, the Soviet Union still existed and our government bodies fully corresponded to the standards common during the past 70 years. So, back in 1990, we began to take measures to fill these bodies with a new democratic content. Since Armenia became a presidential republic last October, the forms of executive government have been under thorough reorganization. The idea is to strengthen executive authority and enhance the responsibility of all government officials, including the president, concurrently developing the democratic institutions of the multi-party parliament, consolidating the principle of electivity of all government bodies and asserting the principles of the free press. In the current setting, this is a must for Armenia.

A great deal has been done already. But at the new stage we need new people, all of which explains the current reorganization. This process is normal for a democratic state, although the press overly dramatizes the situation. Everyone should understand that the times of life-long posts are gone.

IF: Now that new people are expected to come, will Armenia's position on Nagorno-Karabakh be changed? Do you think Russia has tapped its mediatory mission in the Karabakh settlement?

TER-PETROSYAN: Our position on Nagorno-Karabakh will remain unchanged. The population of Nagorno-Karabakh has the right to live peacefully and tranquilly on its land. Although there are no international laws giving anyone the right to banish people from their homeland, destroy civilians or drop bombs on peaceful cities and villages, Azerbaijan allows itself to do so.

I must repeat what I've said on many occasions: to get the settlement of the Karabakh problem started, an end should be put to bloodshed and shooting without any preliminary terms. The Karabakh authorities also keep saying that they are ready to issue a corresponding order to the self-defence forces. Immediate and unconditional cease-fire represents

the reasonable compromise which will make further political and diplomatic efforts possible, including the CSCE's Minsk conference and productive bilateral contacts between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

As to Russia's mediatory mission, it has not been tapped yet. With other states and international organizations Russia can create efficient mechanisms of exercising control over the cease-fire agreement.

IF: Will Yerevan form full-fledged armed forces? Do you think Armenia will find the weapons passed over to it by the former Soviet Union's 7th army sufficient? Are you planning to import armaments, including armored vehicles and planes?

TER-PETROSYAN: Our military doctrine is of purely defensive nature. We have never had plans to seize foreign territories. In fact, given the current international situation this is just impossible. Armenia needs armed forces to safeguard its borders and we shall have as many weapons as we need to do so.

IF: The blockade of the railways in Azerbaijan and Georgia complicates the delivery of food stuffs, medicines and other loads to Armenia. What measures is the Armenian leadership taking to solve this problem?

TER-PETROSYAN: The fuel and food stuffs, above all grain, imported by Armenia, arrive in the Georgian ports of Batumi and Poti and is subsequently transported to Armenia by railway. Over the past few weeks, we have been receiving these goods by railway more or less regularly. But intervals still occur and people still have to line for bread. We are therefore looking for alternative ways of receiving grain. The U.S. has airlifted a certain amount of grain to us, for which we are very grateful to the U.S. leaders.

And yet, our demand in grain is far greater than the amount we receive. Grain is also coming to us through Turkey and there are other protect which our government is drafting now.

IF: Have Armenia changed its priorities? Western observers believe that Armenia is becoming increasingly pro-Turkish.

TER-PETROSYAN: Russia has been and will be our main foreign-policy priority and we are linked with long-standing political, economic and spiritual bonds with Russia. However, Armenia is an independent state and it is not oriented to any particular country. Our policy is neither pro-Russian nor pro-Turkish and our ambition is to establish normal relations with all states, including Turkey. We've made some progress in this sphere.

IF: What economic branches should be given priority in terms of foreign investment?

TER-PETROSYAN: I think the conditions in Armenia are mostly favorable for foreign investment. The internal

situation is stable, the economic reforms are being implemented vigorously enough, the private sector is broadening and the land is being privatized. Our republic possesses a great intellectual potential, so priority will be given to the development of science-intensive branches.

President Reviews Year, Discusses 'Values'

NC1211110092 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1830 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Statement by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan at a news conference at his residence on 11 November on the first anniversary of his assuming the presidency—recorded]

[Excerpts] Dear compatriots, I would like to address you on this first anniversary of my taking the oath in a special parliamentary ceremony on 11 November last year. Then I put forward my program. Now, one year later, I must sum up the results. [passage omitted]

To (?talk) about achievements would be a luxury in the current grave socio-economic situation, but I would like to discuss values, which we must appreciate. First, social and political stability in Armenia are an (?important) value that Armenia and the Armenian people have, especially if we consider events in other former Soviet republics. In Georgia and Azerbaijan, there is a power struggle, as a result of which Azerbaijan has made many sacrifices and suffered psychological defeats and territorial losses. I am thinking of defeats in Khodzhal and Shusha. All these took place because of domestic instability and the power struggle in Azerbaijan. Georgia is suffering similar losses today. [passage indistinct]

Second, the governability of the situation. [words indistinct] Despite a bitter winter and difficult summer, the government kept the situation under control. [passage indistinct]

Third, intellectual freedom. [words indistinct] A free press exists and there is freedom of speech with no limitations. There is no censorship. [passage indistinct]

Another achievement was that [words indistinct] we surmounted the threat of war, which was an extremely important political achievement for the Armenian people. [words indistinct] We suffered very bitter defeats in Karabakh and there were calls to enter a war, to enter an adventure, and to be dragged into a large-scale conflict with Azerbaijan. We avoided that danger. I consider this to be extremely important, but an unappreciated and unnoticed achievement. We will do everything—at least I promise to do everything—to avoid our being dragged into a large-scale war. [words indistinct]

Following sharp debate, parliament had enough sense not to recognize the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. That would have been a battle cry against the world and would have formed the (?basis) of political adventurism, dragging us into a war with Azerbaijan. It would have been the end of the talks. [passage indistinct]

There are unfounded claims that Armenia's foreign policy has failed. I categorically reject this, because something that did not exist in the first place could not have failed. Previously Armenia had no foreign policy and all our relations with the outside world took place through (?Moscow). We have been formulating and conducting foreign policy for two years only. [words indistinct] As such, Armenia's foreign policy has generally been [word indistinct]. We also see substantial progress in our relations with our neighbors.

[Passage indistinct] Now let us talk about negligence or errors. [words indistinct] I will not discuss the objective difficulties that are obvious to everyone. These difficulties exist and no one could [words indistinct]. But there are other problems [words indistinct], the most important of which is the slowing down of economic reforms, if not their termination. The privatization process has stopped, which I consider a major [word indistinct] and an error fraught with grave consequences. There are a few reasons. Under blockade conditions, not forgetting the railway blockade in Georgia, the government had to tackle the daily administrative problems. This left no time or opportunity to formulate long-term programs. [passage omitted]

Our inability to import goods is not as serious as our inability to export and this prevents us from increasing production. Goods worth tens of billions [of rubles] have accumulated inside Armenia. Had we exported them, we could have had major financial opportunities for Armenia, which would have ensured the revival of production and the meeting of our people's social needs.

But there are also objective reasons for the failure of the reforms, most important among which is parliament's unproductive work. Parliament has become a political organ in which any problem, even the most fundamental issues, are exploited for political ends. This has found parliament not fulfilling its basic function. [words indistinct] It took six months for it to adopt the privatization law and, while three months have passed since the law was adopted, parliament has not elected the 10 members of the commission overseeing the privatization process. But a presidential decree is ready. If parliament cannot elect the commission's members, the president has the right to appoint them. The decree is ready, but I am awaiting parliament's decision, which I will publish in the next few weeks. [passage omitted]

Another error I could mention is an important political issue, the situation from April to May, when a serious power struggle was going on in Azerbaijan just before and after the occupation of Shusha and Lachin, when the Azerbaijani leaders were more inclined toward talks and peaceful settlements because they were in a very difficult position [words indistinct]. Parliament should have been pressured and the right atmosphere should have been created to persuade the people of Karabakh to participate in the negotiating process, because at that time Karabakh was in a better position than it was later. [passage omitted]

As for cadre changes [words indistinct], much has been said about changes in the Defense and Foreign Ministries [words indistinct]. I was very pleased with Raffi Hovannisian's work and I must praise his activities of the past four to five months, when the Foreign Ministry conducted an active foreign policy to secure recognition of the independence [words indistinct]. I cannot picture any other foreign minister achieving these objectives. Later a certain rift emerged between Hovannisian and the Armenian president's foreign policy principles. That rift was noticeable in our relations with our neighbors and the most conspicuous example of the rift was a speech by Hovannisian in Istanbul. I cannot agree with its general content or statements [passage indistinct]. That speech contravened Armenia's fundamental foreign policy principle on improving relations with neighbors. [passage indistinct] There were also secondary reasons, such as Raffi Hovannisian frequently being absent from the ministry, which affected decisionmaking [words indistinct]. You already know that soon after his resignation I offered Hovannisian the post of adviser to the Armenian president, but I have not yet received any reply [passage indistinct].

Former Foreign Minister Urges Military Support for Karabakh

NC1111194192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Former Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisian, currently in Stepanakert, said in an interview that the fate of Armenia and the Armenian people is being determined in Nagorno-Karabakh.

He stressed that it is the duty of all Armenians around the world, and particularly those in Armenia, to support the struggle in Karabakh, for this support is needed for the expected victory. Victory cannot be achieved with a policy of committee meetings and wait-and-see. It can be achieved only by supporting the struggle and bringing about national unity.

A political solution of the Karabakh problem depends on military developments. Only by strengthening Karabakh can we reach a desirable political solution of the problem and strengthening Karabakh is in our hands, Raffi Hovannisian declared.

The former foreign minister expressed the view that the people of Karabakh should rely on themselves. He visited the battlefronts in Mardakertskiy, Askeranskiy, Gadrutskiy, and Martuninskiy Rayons accompanied by Melik Shahnazaryan, chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Supreme Soviet Foreign Relations Commission, and he met the freedom fighters and familiarized himself with their daily lives.

Karabakh Leader Views Armenia's Policy on Nagorno-Karabakh

NC1011204692 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Georgiy Petrosyan, acting chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Supreme Soviet, said in a news conference yesterday that although the military-political situation has stabilized somewhat, no substantial improvement can be discerned and a serious and balanced approach is required to lessen the tension.

Referring to the recent talks held between the Armenian leadership and the NKR Supreme Soviet Presidium delegation, he said that Karabakh's representatives in Yerevan have expressed serious concern over the possible change in Armenia's political course.

In general, Petrosyan spoke positively of the recent consultations in Yerevan with the Armenian leadership. The talks were held in a positive and amiable atmosphere, he said.

Petrosyan refrained from passing a definitive political judgment on the appeal sent to the Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents and officials by the 55 Armenian parliamentarians. He stated that NKR has never refused to enter into a cease-fire agreement or direct talks with Azerbaijan. We are ready to start preliminary talks with Azerbaijan to decide upon the guidelines for the negotiations.

Petrosyan then added: With regard to the appeal, it is the work of the Armenian parliament and I think that the Armenian parliament is going to discuss that matter. I hope that NKR representatives will also be invited to that discussion.

Government To Ration Bread Starting 15 Nov

OW1211022992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1701 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Armenian government ordered that a system of rationing bread be enacted November 15. Bread factories have been instructed to change the standards of bread production to make loaves weighing 1.5 kg, 700 g, and 350 g with prices of 30, 20, and 10 rubles respectively. The standard allotment will be 350 g per person per day in cities and towns, and 250 g in the countryside.

'Thousands' Participate in Rally in Gyumri

LD1011131592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The red flag of the former USSR has been hoisted today over the building of the gorsovet of Armenia's second biggest city Gyumri. According to a report by the Russian Information Agency, a rally of thousands of townsfolk and residents of the suburbs is being held there. They are demanding improvement of their social

situation. Of late, Gyumri has been experiencing considerable interruptions in the supply of electricity and deliveries of bread. In the afternoon, the protesters moved from social demands to political ones, demanding the immediate arrival of representatives of the leadership of the republic to give an account of themselves to the people.

Azerbaijan

Parliament Speaker: No Nuclear Weapons in Republic

NC1011164392 Baku TURAN in English 1227 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Baku 10 Nov (TURAN)—Chairman of the parliament Isa Kamberov distributed the official statement, running that Azerbaijan had none of nuclear weapons on his territory.

It was Interior Minister Iskender Khamidov who engineered another political brawl with his next baloney. The minister publicly declared that he had several nuclear bombs and would drop them on Armenia, should the latter fail to stop its aggression against Azerbaijan.

The chairman of the parliament announced at the Milli Mejlis today that such irresponsible declarations were giving rise to the world community's distrust and might have grave complications for the republic.

Members of the Milli Mejlis also condemn the interior minister's actions.

Elchibey Ready To Render Humanitarian Aid to Armenia

OW1011175692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1734 GMT 10 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey pointed out his country's efforts to strengthen its political, economic, and scientific and technical ties with Russia at a press conference on Monday [9 November]. He gave as evidence of the particular meaningfulness of these contacts the fact that in Russia, "a whole school of Azeri scientists has grown up, and Azerbaijan values this potential highly." Elchibey also pointed out the increased role of the Russian Federation, together with the United States and Turkey, in the process of settling matters in Karabakh. This activity in particular, he said, manifested itself in the signing of the Sochi Agreement for a ceasefire in the zone of conflict (the document was signed by the defense ministers of Russia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.—Interfax). In connection with this, Elchibey called for the expanding of the contingent of military observers and

the attachment of representatives from European countries and CIS states. Incidentally, he adds, it would be possible to guarantee a smooth transition of the "Sochi process" into a mechanism for settling the conflict within the framework of the CSCE, to which Azerbaijan, as before, is devoted.

Baku, according to the president, does not object to humanitarian aid shipments being transported through Turkey to Armenia. With respect to this, he announced: "although we find ourselves in a state of undeclared war, we cannot exclude the likelihood that Azerbaijan will render humanitarian aid to the peaceful population of Armenia, including food and medicine." In response to the question of whether he is expecting a change in the American position on Karabakh due to the election of Bill Clinton to the presidency, Elchibey expressed doubt that a change in the government staff of other states will have any real influence on developments in regional conflicts. According to Elchibey, the possibility of settling the Karabakh conflict depends primarily upon the rate of democratic transformation and the level of economic freedom in Azerbaijan itself.

Elchibey is pinning his hopes on the parliamentary elections which are scheduled for the first half of next year and will be conducted on a multi-party basis. After the elections, the president intends to make an official visit to the United States and Great Britain. He pointed out the particular importance of 1993 for the nation's economy, since "we will have to do a lot of work" in preparation for radical reform.

Recalling that the next meeting of the heads of the Turkic states will be in 1993, Elchibey did not rule out the probable increase in the number of attendees at the conference. He believes that in the event that the situations in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and Iran are stabilized, they will be able to participate in the solution of questions raised at the Ankara conference at the end of October.

Elchibey Congratulates Tatars on Adopting Constitution

NC1111185892 Baku AZERINFORM in Azeri 1309 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 11 Nov (AZERINFORM)—In a message sent today to Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev marking the adoption of Tatarstan's Constitution, Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey expressed the hope that the political, economic, and cultural ties between Azerbaijan and Tatarstan will broaden and deepen.

Congratulating the Tatar people, one of the most powerful branches of the sublime Turkic race, on gaining their independence, Elchibey wrote: "Turkic unity was fragmented, and our peoples were alienated from their own glorious past and roots. The closing days of the 20th century, however, are being marked with the awakening

and revival of the Turkic world. Now, with the dissolution of the Soviet Empire, our peoples have attained a new historic stage; they have taken the path of national freedom."

Elchibey Meets With UN Representative; Mission Opens

NC1211060492 Baku AZERINFORM in Azeri 1128
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 11 Nov (AZERINFORM)—Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey met with UN representative Mahmud al-Said, who arrived in Baku.

Elchibey said that "opening the UN mission will undoubtedly play a moral and practical role in enhancing the Republic's international prestige." According to Elchibey, the mission will play a unifying role between Azerbaijan and the United Nations. Elchibey also believes that by opening the mission, the international community will have the opportunity to get the real facts surrounding developments in the Republic.

Al-Said said that like the other former Soviet republics, Azerbaijan is passing through a difficult period. He said: "One of the basic duties of the UN missions, which were recently opened in these countries at Butrus-Ghali's instruction, is to assist in quickly eliminating the current troubles in these republics and creating stable and normal living conditions."

Referring to the Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute, al-Said said that he will personally abide by the United Nation's basic principle—resolving every dispute through political means.

Al-Said told an AZERINFORM correspondent: "The UN secretary general has given me the mandate to assist in peacefully resolving this problem. I will do everything in my power to stop this bloodshed and to help the Azerbaijani people redirect their energy in creating a democratic and growing state."

IZVESTIYA Interviews Ex-President Mutalibov 'Hiding' in Russia

PM1211094192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12
Nov 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Ayaz Mutalibov, former president of Azerbaijan, by Gayaz Alimov; place, date not given: "Ayaz Mutalibov: I Did Not Usurp Power, I Was Stripped of It"]

[Text] As reported in the press, the Azerbaijani Prosecutor's Office has decided to institute criminal proceedings against Ayaz Mutalibov, the republic's former president. A search for him has been announced, and the Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs has been sanctioned to arrest the ex-president... IZVESTIYA's correspondent succeeded in meeting with the former leader of Azerbaijan.

[Alimov] Grave charges have been made against you, Ayaz Niyazovich—of organizing the coup d'etat of 14-15 May 1992, committing actions which helped to intensify the confrontation in society, and also violating Azerbaijan's fundamental law. What is your attitude to this?

[Mutalibov] Naturally, I reject it. This is an act of political persecution. Earlier they accused me of economic violations, stirred people up with stories of my fantastic accounts in foreign banks... They accused me of selling myself to Russians, Armenians... What now? They have quietly forgotten about that, because I am clean. But such methods are used to disgrace a person. Now they are trying to make a state criminal out of me. It was not I that carried out the coup in May but the opposition at the time. It unlawfully took over the radio and television, and then power itself.

[Alimov] Why did you decide to return to power in May after giving up the post of president in March? What made you do that?

[Mutalibov] In my opinion, it is clear to everyone that I did not quit the post of president voluntarily in March. The March events were the result of opposition pressure. On 5-6 March parliament was besieged, surrounded by armed people. There was a real threat of mass clashes. Therefore, realizing that we were on the homestretch to bloodshed, I decided to go. The president's resignation must be discussed, and there must be a corresponding statement. But there was nothing of the kind. I was really obstructed at the time.

Now about why I decided to return. Events in the republic were developing in such a way that I felt that there was a desire to blame me for everything that was happening in Karabakh, particularly in Khodzhal. But I was not personally to blame for that, and I did not want my name to be linked in the history of Azerbaijan precisely with that event. I am convinced that the March session of parliament was aimed at just this. After my resignation the opposition promised that it would not engage in political persecution. But I encountered the opposite.

But enlightenment was coming about in society, and questions relating to me were arising increasingly frequently: Was it right for the president to go? Why was a referendum not announced, why did he not appear on national television? People began coming to me, and I myself began to travel around. This was not a political action on my part; I had to explain my resignation to people, my electors. As a result, people were imbued with confidence in me. As you know, a corresponding parliamentary commission was working. The question subsequently arose: Why was the legally elected president stripped of power? On 14 May they invited me to the session and listened to the commission's conclusion. I was sitting in the stalls. Deputies proposed my candidacy—there was a vote.

[Alimov] Were you yourself prepared for such a turn of events?

[Mutalibov] Yes, in principle. Only it was not I but the deputies who demanded the restoration of my presidential powers. Therefore it is strange that the events of 14 May are interpreted as a coup d'etat. The coup, I repeat, happened the next day—15 May. I did not usurp power, I was stripped of it. But no reaction ensued. I signed the Alma-Ata document on Azerbaijan joining the CIS, and under me Azerbaijan became a full UN member. A capable president—yet suddenly he is removed.

[Alimov] But, on the other hand, the people did not come to your defense, did they?

[Mutalibov] I did not deem it possible to make any appeals or to appeal directly to the people. I could have, but I did not want to. My supporters were the people, who voted for me. I did not cling to power. What kind of actions helping to intensify confrontation in society were these!

[Alimov] But, Ayaz Niyazovich, the people also voted for Elchibey! True, this happened later...

[Mutalibov] This phenomenon requires study. Those same deputies, for example, applauded when they voted for my resignation, but then they applauded when they adopted a different decision—on my restoration in the post of president.

[Alimov] What do you feel like here—a president in exile or a private person?

[Mutalibov] It is clear now: I am in political exile. But I am, of course, an ex-president, a president stripped of power. I am here as a private person, and I have no contacts with officials. I have come here because this is how circumstances have taken shape. Having once again shown my political orientation, I have not ended up elsewhere. But, for all that, I remain a citizen of my country, and I must live at home, in Azerbaijan. Unfortunately, for some of those who have acceded to power it is evidently necessary to find someone to blame for the general misfortunes and shortcomings and to divert the attention of society away from the republic's internal problems.

[Alimov] Do the Russian authorities know you are here?

[Mutalibov] Of course.

[Alimov] And in Baku?

[Mutalibov] Of course. This is why I do not understand: Why announce a search?

[Alimov] But you are in hiding...

[Mutalibov] Yes, I have been forced to hide. I am guided by purely human caution, for I do not want my family and myself to be victims of circumstances.

[Alimov] Are you prepared, however, to appear before the Azerbaijani authorities?

[Mutalibov] I do not believe that the conditions for this exist now. This is impossible for me. The authorities need a political spectacle.

[Alimov] Are you counting on any guarantees of safety from the Russian authorities?

[Mutalibov] I have not yet turned to the official authorities. If I am stripped of civil rights in Azerbaijan, of course I will seek protection here. I would like very much to remain in Russia. The possibility cannot be ruled out that I will request political asylum.

[Alimov] What if Baku demands your extradition?

[Mutalibov] I do not think I pose any threat to Russian-Azerbaijani relations.

[Alimov] Ayaz Niyazovich, you have no guards, you have been forced to move from where you were staying, and you have ended up virtually in voluntary confinement. Who is helping you?

[Mutalibov] Friends. My family and I are tremendously grateful to them. Of course, things are very bad for us. Politics are cruel, after all. [Mutalibov ends]

There is no single law in the Russian Federation governing the conditions and procedure for extraditing to foreign states persons who have committed crimes abroad and who have ended up on the territory of Russia, and such questions are examined in each specific case. This was how a staffer of the Russian Foreign Ministry's legal department commented today on the possibility of extraditing to the Azerbaijani side Ayaz Mutalibov, that country's former president, in conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

According to the staffer of the Foreign Ministry legal department, questions of extradition in the Russian Federation are traditionally governed by treaties on legal assistance. Since Russia does not have such a treaty with Azerbaijan, the question of Ayaz Mutalibov can be examined separately.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Visits Sukhumi To Study Abkhazia Situation

OW1111121992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1156
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A spokesperson for the Georgian parliament told INTERFAX that on Wednesday morning Georgian head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, arrived in Sukhumi. The goal of his trip is to study the situation in Abkhazia. On the same day, Shevardnadze returned to Tbilisi.

It is expected that in the next few days, the Georgian parliament will complete discussion of the situation in Abkhazia and arrive at a settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

[Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1418 GMT on 11 November adds: "Head of the Georgian parliament Eduard Shevardnadze, who arrived in Sukhumi (Abkhazia) on Wednesday, went to the Georgian combat positions near the village of Shroma in a Sukhumi suburb. Prior to that, he had had a meeting with representatives of the military command.

["The Sukhumi commandant's office informed INTERFAX that on Wednesday, Georgia and Abkhazia exchanged POWs (5 POWs from each side) on a gunboat which had arrived from Gudauta."]

Authorities Permit Russian Ship To Dock, Evacuate Servicemen

LD1211114592 Moscow *ITAR-TASS* in English 1113 GMT 12 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Roman Zadunaitskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Georgian authorities permitted the Krymskiy Komsomolets landing ship of the Black Sea Fleet to enter the Poti "civil" port in the evening of November 11. Georgian small-size ships continue to blockade the Russian naval base in the area of the port.

The Krymskiy Komsomolets could not enter the naval base for four days, wherefrom Russian servicemen and their families as well as Black Sea Fleet hardware and equipment are being evacuated.

ITAR-TASS learnt at the Black Sea Fleet headquarters that the Georgian side explains the base's blockade with protection of Georgia's military interests and with mobilisation declared in the republic.

On orders from Tbilisi, Commander of the Poti base Dzhumberi Gabunia and port chief Valeriy Gigidze are in charge of the Russian base's blockade.

The Krymskiy Komsomolets will help to evacuate Russian servicemen and their families.

Navy Seals Off Poti Port To Prevent Russian Departures

LD1111154192 Moscow *ITAR-TASS* in English 1503 GMT 11 Nov 92

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Roman Zadunaitskiy]

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The Georgian Navy command and authorities of the port city of Poti have sealed off the port in an attempt to prevent Black Sea fleet hardware and Russian service people and their families from leaving the city.

A fishing boat and a tugboat blocked the passage to the port on Monday, preventing a Russian military ship from entering the bay, Sergey Ozerov, spokesman for the Black Sea fleet, said.

Vasily Kishin, commander of the Russian fleet stationed in Poti warned the Georgian authorities he will use force to reopen the port if they do not lift the blockade.

Ozerov confirmed that first deputy Russian Navy commander Igor Kasatonov has left Sevastopol. He did not say where he was heading. But according to some information obtained by *ITAR-TASS*, Kasatonov will fly to Georgia to meet with representatives of republican leaders to discuss the situation in Poti.

Russian Delegation Arrives for Talks

OW1111122192 Moscow *INTERFAX* in English 1156 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday a state delegation from Russia headed by Ambassador at Large, Feliks Kovalev, and including Vladimir Zemskiy, recently named the Russian ambassador to Georgia, arrived in Tbilisi.

It is expected that on 12 November, the ambassador will present letters of credence to Georgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksandr Chikvaidze.

The Russian delegation will take part in negotiations on all questions related to the presence of Russian troops and border forces in Georgia. The sides also intend to prepare for the signing of a comprehensive treaty between Georgia and Russia.

Defense Ministry Reports Quiet in Abkhazia

OW1111121892 Moscow *INTERFAX* in English 1157 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Abkhazian Defense Ministry, the situation in the conflict zone has been relatively quiet over the last 24 hours, except for occasional firing on the Gumista River near Sukhumi.

The Georgians and Abkhazians are today expected to continue exchanging their POWs.

An Abkhazian Defense Ministry official told *Interfax* a total of 409 people have been killed on the Abkhazian side since August 14, the day the conflict began, 309 of whom were Abkhazian and 100 Armenian, Greek, Russian, or North Caucasian.

Defense Council Names Armed Forces Commanders*OW1011201892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1931
GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Defense Council decided to urgently reman the Defense Ministry's General Headquarters with skilled personnel, Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua said at an evening meeting of the Georgian parliament Tuesday [10 November]. The parliament discussed the situation in Abkhazia. According to the prime minister, it was decided to nominate General Nodar Gudzhabidze the commander of the General Headquarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Kamkamidze recalled from Ukraine was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Georgian Armed Forces. He will arrive in Georgia within a few days.

Rear Admiral Discusses Formation of Republic's Navy*AU111120192 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in
Russian 20 Oct 92 p 2*

["Exclusive" interview with Rear Admiral Aleksandr Davidovich Dzhavakhishvili, commander of the Georgian Naval Forces, by Tinatin Gviniashvili; place, date not given: "There is Always a Way Out of an Impasse"]

[Text] SG [SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] DOSSIER: Aleksandr Davidovich Dzhavakhishvili was born in Tbilisi in 1932. He is a graduate of the Higher Military Naval Academy in Baku. He spent 14 years serving as a naval officer in the fleets of the former Union. He has crossed the oceans from north to south. He served as a brigade commander on board nuclear-powered submarines in Primorskiy Kray. He was involved in testing new nuclear-powered submarines. His last position in the former USSR was as deputy commander of the Primorskiy flotilla. From this position he was discharged into the reserve and returned to Tbilisi. Rear Admiral Dzhavakhishvili is currently commander of the Georgian Naval Forces.

[Gviniashvili] As is known, the formation of a single national army will begin after the elections. How do you intend to resolve the question of cadres for the Naval Forces?

[Dzhavakhishvili] On 5 October, studies began in the Higher Naval School in Batumi that has opened for the first time in Georgia. The school's naval department is able to train top class cadets for service. The training will be conducted according to the program for officers in the reserve in the following specializations: navigation officers, missile and artillery men, minemen and torpedo artificers, signalmen, and so forth. After graduating from the school, the cadets will undergo practical training in

the Navy. Another base are the 117 representatives of our republic that are serving in Russian fleets. They are gradually returning.

[Gviniashvili] Aleksandr Davidovich, will our Navy receive the property of the Transcaucasian Military District, and how do you assess the current armaments of the Georgian Naval Forces?

[Dzhavakhishvili] According to a preliminary agreement with the Black Sea Fleet, the Poti naval brigade, training center, and other coastal services will be transferred to us. All this can be resolved only by peaceful means. Regarding armaments, the Georgian Navy is presently equipped and armed to a satisfactory level.

[Gviniashvili] Do you think that the Georgian Navy was able to fulfill its potential during military actions in Abkhazia, or do you have any reason to be dissatisfied?

[Dzhavakhishvili] From 14 August, all the vessels of the Georgian Navy were in a full state of readiness. We were faced with the task of transporting equipment, supplies, food, and also evacuating the peaceful population to safer regions. We evacuated 25,600 persons. I can boldly say that all the tasks were fulfilled.

[Gviniashvili] According to one of the representatives of the Turkish War Ministry, the Georgian Armed Forces are at a rudimentary stage of development, while their command is more often than not made up of dilettantes.... What can you say about this?

[Dzhavakhishvili] I can say one thing: There are no dilettantes in the Navy. All the cadres have a higher military education and a lengthy period of service in high-ranking posts. It needs to be pointed out that the administrative and service cadres are currently being elaborated, so the onslaught by the Abkhaz extremists took us a little by surprise. I can add that Georgia has a lack of specialists in the Navy. However, despite the problems, we are certain that everything that we have planned will be done.

[Gviniashvili] How do you view the situation in Abkhazia?

[Dzhavakhishvili] A serious situation has, of course, taken shape but it is not hopeless. There is always a way out of an impasse. In such a situation, it is essential that all the republic's structures work toward preserving the state's integrity.

Shevardnadze Warns Against Hasty Removal of Russian Troops*AU1011155692 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA
in Georgian 27 Oct 92 p 1,2*

["Eduard Shevardnadze: 'The Withdrawal of the Russian Army from Georgia Should Be Resolved in a Normal and Civilized Way'"—headline]

[Text] During the evening of 25 October, Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament, gave

an interview to Georgian Television and expressed his attitude to the demands of the participants in the protest meeting outside the headquarters of the Group of Russian Forces in Tbilisi on 23 October.

Eduard Shevardnadze said: "As I understand, two questions were raised during this protest meeting. The first concerns the units of Russian troops located in Abkhazia. The participants in the meeting categorically demanded that the Russian troops were not to interfere in the internal affairs of Georgia. Indeed, the missions of certain generals commanding these troops in Abkhazia are restricting our forces and, first and foremost, this concerns their monopoly of the airspace. They are not allowing our aircraft to get off the ground. The meeting's participants were fully justified in presenting this demand and I support them. I believe that this matter needs to be regulated. This airspace belongs to us and it is we who should determine the rules regarding its use. This is a basic matter and we will not give anyone else this right."

Eduard Shevardnadze continued: "However, as regards the second question concerning the occupation troops and their withdrawal, I would like to ask all those who participated in the protest meeting and also all Georgian citizens to show greater responsibility when speaking about this question, since Georgia has, to all intents and purposes, been drawn into a war and we should not be creating additional problems. We all bear some responsibility as far as this question is concerned. Let us say that we have presented this proposal to the Russian side and they have acted upon it in reality and have begun withdrawing their troops. Shouldn't we, after all, first think carefully about what consequences this will have for us in practice? I want the Georgian population to know that these Russian units, along with us, are responsible for protecting Georgian air space. This is a most complex defense system, one costing billions of rubles and having the most expensive and scarce equipment, which even major powers cannot emulate. This system maintains surveillance on the entire airspace, pinpoints all air traffic, and, when necessary, commands fighter aircraft squadrons to take the appropriate measures. This system has the most precise automatic mode of operation. Therefore, we should also think about the fact that we, as yet, do not have such squadrons.

"Let us say that they transfer this equipment to us. What would we do with it? We would not be able to use it as we do not have people who can operate it and everything would collapse as has happened in many other cases. This is our wealth and it needs to be protected. In order to protect it, we need to spend one or two years mastering the system, and then it can be left behind for us so that we have the possibility of protecting ourselves. If we do not have this, then, indeed, everyone will be able to declare Tbilisi a "disaster zone" [a reference to the declaration made by the Confederation of Caucasian Mountain Peoples soon after the outbreak of hostilities in Abkhazia] and, in reality, it will require only a few aircraft to achieve this.

"Proceeding from this, do we have the right to take such a careless step? It should not be difficult to reach a conclusion from this.

"My opponents will no doubt say: "Yes, we agree with you; these troops can stay, but the others must leave." In connection with this, I would like to say that this process is gradually getting under way and, moreover, is proceeding fairly intensively. However, if we withdraw the other troops, they will also take this system with them, as they need it for their defense. If they are not here, they will not need to be protected. Therefore, I repeat: This question cannot be resolved easily. It will be resolved after we have signed a major treaty with Russia, once we have determined the dates for the withdrawal of its troops and how long they should stay. The Russian side has already agreed that air defense units should be under joint command. Therefore, we should not be competing with one another to decide who is the greater patriot. I repeat: They can leave here, but we will be left completely unprotected."

Eduard Shevardnadze continued: "Thus, I appeal to everyone: This is a question that cannot be resolved at meetings. This is a question of the defense of our common airspace and common home. You remember what misfortune befell us in Gori when, as a result of an incorrect decision, we lost some fine young men who were trying to remove equipment by force. I realize that, if there are any attempts anywhere to take equipment out of the republic, we will have to put guards on duty there. We will not allow this to happen. However, attacks on individual units and the hijacking of military vehicles must be completely ruled out. It is enough for us to have our own war. We must do everything to bring this to an end. A new war against Russian military units would not bode well for us. We do not need it, particularly as it does not correspond with our culture and our traditions.

"Everything has to be resolved within the framework of normal civilized relations."

Eduard Shevardnadze concluded: "Believe me, the Russian troops will leave when we tell them to, but we must not make a mistake in saying when. As yet, we still do not have an army or the corresponding cadres, we lack experience, and, therefore, we should not hurry."

Shevardnadze Speaks to Sciences Academy on Democracy Building

AU1011060192 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 10 Oct 92 p 1, 3, 4, 5

[Speech by State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze at a preelection meeting of members of the Georgian Academy of Sciences and representatives of scientific institutions at the Georgian Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi on 9 October: "Let Us Build a New Democratic Georgia"]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen! This is not the first time that I have had to speak in this hall. I am happy to see

here among the participants of today's meeting people with whom I have had ties through many years of joint work and activities for the good of our people and our country and Georgian science. I can see many like-minded persons and a few opponents, which is wholly understandable and acceptable. This is the **first thing**. **Second**, I have not taken advantage of the time officially granted by the electoral commission to speak on radio and television, which is given to a parliamentary candidate and, in this case, to a candidate for the post of parliamentary chairman. For wholly understandable reasons, I was also unable to use the right to organize, so to speak, a prelection trip around Georgia, to its different regions. Therefore, much that should have been said was not said.

For this and other reasons, my speech today will be long. The situation today is so complex that there is no time for long speeches and wordy reports, but what has to be said should be said. The times we are living in are so complex and difficult that, I believe, a candidate should expound his views to the electors on fundamental political, economic, and cultural problems.

I thank you in advance for your patience and tolerance if my speech becomes lengthy.

Third, I wish to express my extreme gratitude to you for having invited me here to this shrine of learning. A prelection meeting with electors in this lecture hall will give me great pleasure.

Citizens of the independent sovereign state of Georgia!

Just a few days remain before the elections. I would like to share with you my thoughts, ideas, and impressions concerning current political events and my views on the internal and external geopolitical situation of Georgia and its prospects for the future.

The words of the great Ilia Chavchavadze involuntarily come to mind: "What can I tell you, how can I make you happy?" An economic crisis, inflation, devaluation, political and ethnic strife, a fratricidal war, unemployment, and shortages are raging around us, spiritual and moral values are being devalued yet, at the same time, **a process involving a great historical change is taking place: One socioeconomic formation is being replaced by another**. This is a revolutionary process. Such a process is always accompanied by conflicts and cataclysms and our country is no exception in this respect.

It is essential to introduce civilized democratic order into our economic and socially destabilized existence. Therefore, the holding of parliamentary elections and the election of its chairman is a historical necessity. This has been demanded by the people in accordance with the principles of democracy, social justice, and the constitutional legitimation of power.

On the one hand, it is very difficult to give an exhaustive fundamental characterization of the current complex

political situation. What is needed is an historical distance and a cause- and-effect analysis of events. However, **on the other hand**, it is impossible to elaborate a political strategy and tactics without correctly determining the contemporary concrete historical stage. Therefore, we have to know in what times we are living, where we are going, how we are to perceive reality, and what ways exist for transforming it.

At the present stage of development, we should speak of two trends: a negative and a positive. The old economy, state, and law and order have collapsed, while new ones have not yet been built. It is this that has given rise to a deep political, economic, and social crisis, the activity of destructive reactionary forces, ethnic conflicts, and so forth.

At the same time, behind and alongside these negative processes, positive processes of historical significance are developing: **Georgia's acquisition of independence and its recognition by the majority of countries in the world, the beginning of the process of the formation of a modern national state, its acceptance into the UN and other important international organizations, the establishment of diplomatic relations and the creation of embassies, the course set for the development of a free market economy, and the firm establishment of democratic pluralism and the denial of dictatorship**.

One has to thoroughly familiarize oneself with the reasons for the formation of these two trends and delve into the fundamental essence of their development. At the present stage, no matter how difficult things are for us, positive historical trends, nevertheless, seem to be the main ones; they are increasing from day to day and the future belongs to them. These processes are irreversible. Negative phenomena are secondary. In the dialectics of the political struggle, they, to a certain degree, occupy an active but nevertheless objectively subordinate position. **We are convinced that the positive processes in the struggle of good against evil will be victorious. It is on such a principled understanding of phenomena that our policy together with its strategy and tactics are built. It is precisely for this reason that I offer you a policy of social and historical optimism**.

This new concept that is now being established in Georgian politics and politology is, to a certain degree, genetically related to the famous philosophical and political doctrine of the "American dream," in politics—the philosophy of realism, and in economics—pragmatism. However, this is nevertheless a phenomenon of original policy on the part of the Georgian independent democratic state and, from a certain point of view, it indicates our new political reference points.

The events of December 1991-January 1992 are a subject for scientific comprehension and political evaluation and possibly for discussions and arguments not only today but also in the future. Therefore, we attach particular significance to an evaluation of these events on the eve of the elections for the present and the future. Of

vital importance is what orientation we are giving the nation today and what legacy we will leave to our future generations.

No matter how pluralistic the evaluations, the main thing, nevertheless, is that during the events of December and January, the Georgian people made an historically important choice in favor of the democratic path of development for the country and condemned and overthrew authoritarianism and dictatorship.

Alongside other progressive forces, a particular role was played in this national movement by the intelligentsia—scientists, writers, artists, composers, painters, figures from the theater and cinema, journalists, Georgia's glorious youth, the students. They demonstrated how the true history of the people is created in reality.

One should particularly note the role of those parties and political and public organizations that decisively supported the course for the democratic development of Georgia.

The National-Liberation Movement in Georgia in the 20th century, particularly in the eighties and nineties is rich, diverse, and extremely unique. It forms an integral part of the famous liberation struggle of the Georgian people over many centuries and is its new stage. Objective history needs to be written. This is a matter for the future but today one has to say clearly that this movement belongs to the entire Georgian people. The history of Georgia is created by the entire Georgian people.

A big role has been played by famous political and public figures: Mr. Tengiz Sigua, Mr. Tengiz Kitovani, Mr. Jaba Ioseliani, and others who headed the revolutionarily and patriotically inspired detachments of the National Guard and "Mkhedrioni" ["Horsemen," officially sanctioned paramilitary organization] and the struggle of the popular masses for democracy and freedom.

I cannot name here all the figures and heroes. There are many of them. The national chronicles and history will have their say about this and will give everyone his or her due.

Honor and glory to all those who laid down their lives for the freedom and independence of the people, to all who defended democracy, the Georgian language, Georgian culture, the national identity of Georgia; honor and glory to the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, students, and all patriots of the Motherland!

It is not by chance that our preelection meeting is taking place in the Georgian Academy of Sciences where the nation's intellectual potential is concentrated. The institutes of the Academy of Sciences and other scientific centers are called upon to have their say in the elaboration of the problems of history and politicalology.

A historical and political assessment of the driving social and democratic forces and the events that have taken

place in Georgia is necessary. A theoretical and methodological interpretation of all this calls for the formation of a corresponding political conception.

As world history shows, logical and historical categories often do not coincide with one another. However, what occurred in Georgia at the end of December and the beginning of January was absolutely logical. By making this difficult choice, the Georgian people have proven that this is a perspicacious and wise nation, one possessing the ability to analyze phenomena quickly and orient itself correctly, even in a semi-chaotic situation.

The previous parliament and former president did not justify the trust of the people and did not fulfill their political, constitutional, and social function; instead of building a rule-of-law state, they took the path of creating an authoritarian regime and, at the same time, conditioned the slide into an unprecedented economic and political crisis and wholly logically departed from the historical arena. This was a law-governed phenomenon as was the transformation of the Military Council into a new organ of power—the State Council—in order to lay the ground for the holding of new parliamentary elections and create a democratic and legitimate state.

We wanted to summon a constituent national assembly, hold a referendum and plebiscite but, unfortunately, the extreme situation that has taken shape in Georgia, the political and economic terror and sabotage, banditism, destabilization, and the actions of destructive and reactionary forces has deprived us of such a possibility.

Several hotbeds of civil war have arisen, but the new authorities have not allowed local civil conflicts to grow into a total social disaster. From a certain point of view, the threat of civil war still exists.

Today, reactionary forces are threatening to wreck the parliamentary elections, but you may rest assured that we will not allow them to do this. We must save democracy and freedom! This is our credo and program of action.

In politics there always exists a Rubicon that has to be crossed.

The State Council was faced with the following alternative: What kind of democratic government should it introduce? A presidential or a parliamentary republic?

Why did we prefer a parliamentary government?

Only because it excludes any possibility of dictatorship and creates all the foundations for the firm establishment of freedom and democracy and strong democratic rule.

This is a short political prologue that precedes the construction of a new, free, and democratic Georgia and the stage of elaboration of a national program and the renaissance and restoration of its economy and culture. We are now precisely at this stage.

I said that we have to save democracy and freedom. The first guarantee of saving democracy and freedom is the country's economic development.

Allow me to briefly inform you of certain strategic directions of economic development in Georgia.

II [no number I as published]

A complex and contradictory process of the breakup of the total economic system and the transition to a free market economy is taking place in the Georgian economy. Politics and economics are the two pillars of public life and, in their unity, represent a guarantee of the power of the state.

The elections and the future parliament are intended to facilitate the acceleration of the pace of transfer to a market economy and the creation and implementation of a contemporary model and the system of a new national economy.

Any policy is the art of the possible and especially economic policy. We need to manifest greater pragmatism and realism in economic policy.

We already have a multistructural economy, a state and private sector, although their combination is not so optimal as to satisfy the demands of a modern market economy.

The general trend is as follows: **The role of the state sector is gradually decreasing, the private sector is gaining strength, market relations are growing stronger in all spheres of the economy, and marketing is the economic philosophy of the market.** This in itself is a great achievement although it is not, as yet, having the corresponding effect.

At the first stage of our development, the state sector will fulfill a certain positive role. Its complete disintegration is not an end in itself; its fate is determined not by the subjective attitude of the party and politicians, but by the objective demand of economic and social development and historical necessity.

The state sector, in conditions of a market economy, does not at all signify preserving the rudiments of a totalitarian state. A strong state sector is characteristic also for countries with a highly developed market economy.

One should take into account the fact that the presence of state property or, more accurately, that barbaric attitude toward people's property in Georgia today will cause considerable damage to the process of transferring to a new type of economy.

The first stage of emerging from the economic crisis is a stage involving the implementation of complex measures and it lasts a comparatively short period of time—two to three years while the new parliament is functioning (parliament is elected for three years). This is a program of forming a market economy in general.

The second stage envisages the full-scale implementation of a private sector, a market economy, the formation of national and regional markets, the stable emergence onto the international market, the production of competitive goods at the level of world standards, the creation of corresponding tax and customs systems, the determining and fulfillment of priorities, the observance of a rational policy, the saturation of the national market, and the implementation of a whole number of other factors.

The program for the first stage is, in the main, to be implemented in the ruble economic space.

The second stage is a long-term model of stabilization and the further development of the economy and it covers a longer period, until the end of the century, until the year 2000.

The second stage is the period of implementation of a system of comprehensive measures aimed at the final establishment of a market economy and the integration of the Georgian economy into the European and world economy.

What basic parameters characterize the program for the second stage? The creation of a new optimal model for the national economy, the orientation toward world standards, the cardinal reform of the banking and financial systems, the elaboration of a new investment policy, the profitable investment of foreign capital into the Georgian economy, the creation of a system of democratic management of the national and regional markets, the rational formation of exports and imports, the improvement of foreign economic relations, and so forth.

The program for the second stage should, by the end of the century, ensure the departure from the ruble economic space and entry into the economic space of primarily the dollar and other freely convertible international currencies and the introduction of new Georgian banknotes and the strengthening of their rate of exchange.

The creation, in conditions of a market economy, of a perfect scientifically based model for the development of the economy in Georgia is a matter involving the whole scientific potential of the nation.

Today, the economic situation both in Georgia and in countries belonging to the economic ruble zone is so complex and contradictory that it is extremely difficult to give a sound prognosis of phenomena.

On the one hand, there exists complete political, economic, and social pluralism while, on the other, there is a restriction of choice due to objective conditions; it is determined by reality, historical necessity, and the level and logic of what exists now. **Therefore, all fundamental questions pertaining to the creation of a new economy will not be resolved at the next stage and a serious politician will not be able to promise this to the people as all this is unrealistic at the first stage.** The given problems should be resolved at the second stage of radical economic

reform; reform is already being implemented today and it is essential to accelerate this process.

In carrying out radical economic reform, we, of course, are dependent upon the support of the international community but, first and foremost, upon our own economic basis and our people and state. The main thing is the rational utilization of our own resources and forces.

The primary question today is: How can we overcome the economic crisis? I would like to share some thoughts with you.

First. The main thing is orientation toward a market economy. We should implement radical economic reform taking into account the achievements of world civilization, but without blindly imitating foreign economic matrices and models and without transferring them mechanically onto Georgian soil. We need integration, a synthesis of the achievements of world civilization and Georgian economic reality. We need not look for a third "particular path," but we must also not ignore Georgian reality.

It is essential to study in essence, with pen in hand, as they say, the experience of foreign countries regarding the transfer to a market economy. At the same time, this will give us the opportunity to not make the mistakes of others and to find the shortest path to transferring to a new economic system. I, for example, believe that the experience accumulated by the East European countries, in particular, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, is significant and useful for us.

Second. We have to take into consideration the lessons of history. In creating a program of market economy and its infrastructure, we should not embark upon the path of isolationism as happened with the previous government. Isolationism is ruinous.

Third. A return to a totalitarian centrally planned economy is absolutely out of the question. I emphasize this because many are saying one thing and doing another; they are continuing to work with the inertia of old. The political course toward a market economy is irreversible and the future belongs to it. The path of radical, well thought through and scientifically based economic reforms, free entrepreneurship, the development of privatization—this is our choice and our answer to the doubts and emotions of certain political parties and organizations, members of the State Council or electors and, also, excuse the expression, the sallies and speeches of certain populists and social demagogues. This policy is clearly formed and is devoid of any ambiguity.

Fourth. We have to have stabilization and we must overcome inflation and devaluation. This is only possible following a radical reform of the financial and banking system. We should activate an independent monetary and credit mechanism and increase the efficiency of the banking system.

Fifth. It is necessary to improve the theory and practice of a price policy in accordance with the demands of a market economy. Instead of a system of supply and distribution, we should introduce gradually, step by step, free trade and, according to logical necessity, we should remove state restrictions on prices, economic ties, exports and imports, and foreign economic relations. A subject of particular concern is the stimulation of exports. In this respect, we will try to offer a bold and original system.

Sixth. It is necessary to develop free entrepreneurship in the state and private sectors and systematically speed up privatization. To transfer to a market economy, it is essential to create corresponding structures of management and institutional preconditions.

Seventh. The demonopolization and decentralization of all sectors of the economy and, in this way, the development of concrete free market relations is a matter of urgency. As is, of course, the complete and fundamental change in the functions of state structures, including ministries and departments. Today, these structures are, to all intents and purposes, delaying the transfer to principles of a market economy. Everything should be interpreted afresh by the new parliament and its chairman and the new government. In this respect, the State Council Decree on the Restriction of Monopolistic Activities and the Development of Competition that we adopted recently is of vital importance.

Eighth. It is essential to reform the structure of the national economy, correctly determine and stimulate priority lines in economic policy, develop processes of integration of the Georgian and world economy, penetrate the world and regional markets and establish oneself there through increasing the competitiveness of our own goods, and study and apply marketing and the market situation. Today, these seem to us to be grandiloquent phrases but in two to three years all this will become reality. It is precisely in reality that we will have to struggle to transfer to these principles.

Ninth. We must without fail overcome existing economic deformations, gradually reduce inefficient enterprises and reorganize them in a rational way, give financial assistance in conditions of crisis to promising enterprises, form a policy of optimal protectionism, and so forth.

We believe that the implementation of a rational policy of foreign credits and foreign investments will facilitate to a large degree the implementation of the programs at the first and second stage in the sphere of the economy. We must stimulate foreign investments. Without the rational and bold attraction and effective utilization of foreign capital, it will be impossible to speak of a speedy development of the economy.

To receive foreign financial assistance, we have to expand international contacts, distribute to our advantage foreign capital in the Georgian economy, create appropriate conditions for investment, and establish a

particularly civilized economic order. Otherwise, businessmen will not invest their capital in the republic.

Georgia is today a member of international banking and financial and credit organizations, including the World Bank and the IMF. This is a great success. However, what is needed is fruitful cooperation with them and the elaboration of important projects and the attraction of foreign capital to finance them; we also need to interest investors.

We have to form an open economic system of the Western type in order to create the basis for the efficient integration of the Georgian economy into the systems of the European and world economies.

In the next few weeks, the elaboration of legislation on foreign investments will be completed. It is necessary to guarantee the stimulation of foreign investors. At the same time, we must remember that it is superfluous even to speak about serious investments of foreign capital into the economy of the republic in conditions of political instability and a complicated criminal situation.

We have to promote in the form of an experiment the creation of free economic zones. Considerable experience has been accumulated in the world regarding this and economic activity in this direction has a big future.

We have to implement a particular policy with the former Soviet republics that are today independent states. We must formalize with them bilateral mutually advantageous treaties, remove superfluous economic and political barriers, and preserve maximum liberal conditions as, otherwise, we will lose an enormous and economically profitable market that has been historically adapted to our current economy and raw-material resources, something which, in present conditions, at the first stage of radical reform, is of vital importance for the normal functioning of our economy.

A program of privatization of state property has been elaborated and is being implemented. It has its strategy and tactics: It takes into account a sensible balance of interests of social groups but often bears a spontaneous character and, as such, we have to have a legal regulation of privatization at the level of civilized legislation. This is the primary task of the new parliament.

We are dealing with two trends here: On the one hand, in order to accelerate the creation of a market economy, we have to quickly sell, in the first instance, small enterprises and facilities in the services' sector through open competitions and auctions. This process is lagging behind and, I have to say that, in practice, many enterprises have already been sold. All this is going on behind the scenes. In many places only a state sign has remained and this happening because we did not begin this process on time. We should start auctioning large enterprises. A list of enterprises earmarked for privatization has already been published.

At present, selective privatization is taking place. This is the first stage. In the near future, at the second stage, we

should begin massive privatization. This is an irreversible process, one which the vital interests of the economy demand. In order to implement privatization we consider it necessary: **First.** To issue free of charge privatization deposits and vouchers. **On the one hand,** this signifies the implementation of principles of social justice as each citizen will receive his or her share (in the form of a voucher) of that national property that, in accordance with the privatization program, will be sold and will be transferred to the private sector.

On the other hand, each inhabitant will be given the opportunity to acquire shares and become a particular type of owner. **Second.** Workers in enterprises should be given equal priority. They should receive a certain share in the ownership of their enterprise, favorable conditions should be created for them in order to acquire property from the enterprise, and they should be protected from economic expansion on the part of more competitive wealthy persons. **Third.** The right to participate in privatization should be given to foreign investors and we should tackle the problem of controlling blocs of shares in a creative way. Here, one standard will not suit all cases.

In determining a controlling bloc of shares, we take either 50 or 51 percent as the limit. Certain enterprises are necessary in order to protect state and national interests. Evidently, the controlling bloc of shares in them should be in our hands. In some places this is not necessary. However, here, unfortunately, in many places we have absolutization and the standardization of everything, including approaches to economic problems. Here we now need a completely different creative approach to the matter.

A subject of our particular concern is the sensible implementation of privatization in the agrarian sector and agro-industrial complex. It is here that the fate of the Georgian village and the problem of supplying the urban and rural population of the whole of Georgia with food products are resolved. Therefore, the development of the agrarian sector of the economy, agrobusiness, and the agro-industrial complex, the implementation of privatization in agriculture, and the elaboration of a correct agrarian policy are of vital importance for the state.

Any mistake committed here could turn into a great social and national calamity. Therefore, great care and foresight are needed. In order to resolve these problems, we should establish closer contacts and hold consultations not only with state structures, corresponding ministries, and departments but also with interested parties, private entrepreneurs and collective farms, associations, representatives of the agrobusiness, farmers, peasants, and so forth.

The Georgian Academy of Sciences, the Georgian Agricultural Academy, agrarian universities and colleges, and other scientific and educational centers should have their say in the development of the agrarian sector of the

economy. **One should welcome the fact that young Georgian farmers are already mastering farming practices in the United States. Such work should be expanded and we should acquire advanced world experience, theory, and practice.**

The IMF, the European Bank, the World Bank, and many other international organizations are promising considerable assistance and offering to train our young people free of charge and help them follow that path that is necessary for the organization of farming.

The privatization of the means of production, first and foremost, **the privatization of land** and the introduction and development of strong competitive private ownership in agriculture and the agricultural industry alongside state ownership form the basis for large-scale agricultural reform.

The basic directions and trends of agrarian reform create a complex picture. **First.** It is necessary to complete land reform and **remove unjustified restrictions on the purchase and sale of land.** Not only agricultural land but also land earmarked for industrial purposes should be liable for purchase and sale. This is an extremely sensitive political, economic, social, and moral and psychological problem. Its resolution is connected not only with the restructuring of the economy but also with human consciousness and the latter is more complex than the former. If we take into account a Georgian's special love for the land—after all, for him, the land is not only a breadwinner but also a mother—we have to implement this reform, having profoundly thought through and envisaged all the possible consequences. **The reform should not result in the impoverishment of the peasant. On the contrary, the peasant should become wealthy and start to live a prosperous existence.** Moreover, city dwellers should, as they say, stand firmly on their native soil. They should take an interest in the village, plots of land, obtaining food from there, dachas, and so forth.

One has to remember that negative phenomena accompany the privatization of land that was started here without any preliminary preparatory work. These not only can but also must be overcome.

As is known, the whole world calls us a country of farmers. We should become a country of classical farming and justify this title given to us by the world by our deeds. Therefore, from the very outset, we should implement a national agrarian policy that has been scientifically substantiated and interpreted at a modern civilized level. The systematic privatization of land should form the basis of this. **Second.** We should quickly accelerate the implementation of the rational and stage-by-stage privatization and demonopolization of the industrial and service sectors of the agro-industrial complex in order to form a market economy. At the first stage and, evidently, in the future, the state sector and a modernized system of state orders should nevertheless be retained in part.

One has to proceed from the fact that these forms of economic management have a right to exist, which will create guarantees for highly productive and creative labor. Thus, I believe that the indiscriminate dissolution of highly profitable enterprises in rural areas is unjustified. **Third.** The reform of the agrarian economy and the formation of the state and private sector on a new basis require the introduction of corresponding institutional changes and laws in the system of the management of the economy both on the vertical and horizontal plane. **Fourth.** In agriculture, the processing industry, and the entire agro-industrial complex, it is necessary to create a market infrastructure, study the market situation, improve relations between the market and production and the market and the consumer, ensure that market requirements are satisfied, and flood the market with products. **Fifth.** The formation of a new economic system will bring about radical social changes in rural areas. It is essential to manage these changes systematically. Owners, free entrepreneurs, farmers, and social groups hired by them will appear in rural areas. It is necessary that the state and the new parliament adopt such civilized legislation in the sphere of labor that will exclude the infringement of human rights, particularly of those people who will be involved in the process of hiring labor. **The Government, the Ministry of Justice, other state structures, and the sakrebulo [local organs of administration] and gamgebelis [heads of the sakrebulo] should implement the law in practice. They themselves should be law-abiding and make each citizen abide by the law.**

In all civilized countries, it is not so much the voluntaristic desire of the private entrepreneur as the law that regulates the remuneration of hired labor. **We should be a state that has civilized laws and then the protection of human rights in the sphere of production will be guaranteed. We should concern ourselves with creating a prosperous society for our citizens.**

The implementation of radical economic reform in the countryside and in the town is impossible, as I have already said, **without the elaboration of an appropriate monetary and taxation policy.** Inflation must be halted and the budget balanced in reality. A few months ago in Georgia, not only did we not have a real budget but also one formally concocted on paper. We are now beginning to emerge from the crisis but so slowly that the population is almost unable to notice this. **In order to improve the economy, we must adopt such a progressive system of taxation as will not only fail to hinder but, on the contrary, will improve the free market, private enterprise, and production in general. Without an increase in production, it is superfluous even to speak about improving the economy and finances.** The optimal resolution of these questions and the review of existing laws and the adoption of new ones is a matter for the future parliament.

The taxation system is the cornerstone of state structures.

In the system of the Georgian National Bank, it is necessary to improve monetary and credit policy in accordance with the demands of the market economy and the circulation of money supply has to be regulated in such a way that, on the one hand, inflation and, on the other, the decline in production are first reduced and ultimately eliminated. The optimum regulation of the money supply to a certain degree controls the market economy. We need a flexible optimum interest policy, to develop interbank crediting, reduce inefficient budgetary programs, rationally control the scale of credit emission and the credit market, and utilize in a better way the levers and methods established in the market system.

The implementation of these programs, to all intents and purposes, signifies the replacement of one formation by another. It should be remembered that this is not an end in itself but a phenomenon resulting from the necessity of creating a higher level of production and, in the final analysis, the achievement of general prosperity.

In my speech at the UN, I said and now wish to repeat here: The World Bank, the IMF, and other international financial organizations should create the forces and means for rapid economic reaction. This is essential in order to save democracy and freedom. Otherwise, the economic crisis will lead to upheavals and internal tremors on such a scale in the political sphere that democracy will develop into dictatorship. Therefore, it is necessary to have not only an optimal democratic doctrine but also a full-fledged political doctrine.

III

In March of this year, I found such a political situation in Georgia that has been rendered in one famous philosophical saying: The war of all against all. This saying, as is known, reflects the political situation prior to the creation of a state. It has to be said frankly that, at that time, the Georgian state did not exist. Neither does it exist today in a civilized form. We have to build such a state and the forthcoming elections will serve precisely this aim.

What kind of state should this be?

Almost every party and politician has its or his own idea concerning this question. I also have my views regarding this problem. We are far from the ideal but, as you know, even Plato's model of the ideal state was not ideal.

Taking advantage of the fact that our meeting is being held in the Academy of Sciences, I would like once more to ask the representatives of the institutes of history and ethnography, philosophy, economics and law, and other scientific-research establishments, first and foremost, the representatives of the humanitarian sciences, to take an active part in research into the fundamental strategic problems and conceptions of the future Georgian state and to give us practical-scientific recommendations, conceptions, and conclusions.

Electors ask me: What is the political doctrine of the candidate for the chairmanship of the Georgian parliament?

Its basic parameters are: freedom, democracy, the constitution, parliament, the Declaration on Human Rights, pluralism, freedom of speech and the press and the creation and activities of political parties and organizations, and other political rights and principles as proclaimed by the UN and in the progressive political convictions and culture of the civilized world.

We promise all these benefits to all groups of the population, national minorities, and all citizens of Georgia.

I share the principle of the delimitation of democratic power into legislative, executive, and juridical (including a constitutional court) power. I would like to use much from the political philosophies of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Jefferson, and other eminent thinkers, world practice, and the important traditions of Georgian statehood and the history of Georgian national political thought.

The basic parameters of internal policy are expounded in the political, economic, legal, social, military, cultural, and religious conceptions that are briefly reflected in this speech. We've already talked about some of these problems while others will be dealt with forthwith.

We know from experience which path we should not follow.

I was born and raised in and, moreover, for decades served a unitary, totalitarian, and militarist state and found myself on the Olympus of this gigantic formation.

Being at the epicenter of events, I came to the only correct conclusion: One cannot live like this any longer; everything was rotten from beginning to end; everything has to be changed. Since then, I have served this idea and continue to do so today.

The most important things in internal policy are democratic transformations, national consensus and reconciliation, the peaceful regulation of conflicts, the formation and normal functioning of a market economy, freedom of the individual, the protection of human rights, the fulfillment of obligations within the framework of the CSCE regarding national minorities, and so forth.

As regards the basic parameters of the foreign political concept, they are formed from two basic components: These are diplomacy and Georgia's foreign economic and scientific and cultural ties.

The fundamental postulate underlying Georgia's foreign policy is: good and mutually advantageous ties with all states, non-alignment, non-interference in the affairs of other states, active neutrality, and recognition of and respect for the achievements of world civilization in the sphere of mutual relations between peoples and states.

The main thing is to correctly determine the strategic and tactical reference points of foreign policy. This is a dynamically changing political phenomenon that requires daily adjustment, refinement, and improvement but constant devotion to national and universal ideals.

The future parliament, its chairman, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the foreign economic department, and scientific centers will have to do much work in order to raise Georgia's internal and external policy to the level of world theory and practice.

Our diplomacy has met with certain success. A treaty of friendship, cooperation, and good-neighborliness has been signed with our historical neighbor Turkey. Mutually advantageous relations with Iran are developing in a systematic manner.

Cooperation with the European countries is developing actively and we are expanding our ties with Israel and the Arab countries. We have a particularly warm friendship with Germany and the United States.

At the UN I emphasized and say now: A good basis has been laid for relations between Georgia and America, Azerbaijan, a whole number of republics in the North Caucasus, and Ukraine.

It is vitally important for Georgia to have normal diplomatic relations with Russia on the basis of equality and partnership.

Russia's policy is in a certain sense contradictory. If we judge according to objective reality, there are no contradictions between the strategic and national interests of Russia and Georgia; these even coincide with one another. This has been reflected best of all in the famous Sochi and Moscow accords. Here credit must be given to President Yeltsin.

We are henceforth ready to cooperate honestly with our great neighbor. Yes, honestly! In my experience of big-time politics on a world scale, I always strove to merit the absolute trust of my colleagues. I do not wish to betray this principle also in relations with Russia. However, we demand such honesty from our partners.

It has to be said that Russia's policy in connection with the conflict in Abkhazia does not stand up to criticism. Of what significance is it to Georgia who is the instigator of Abkhaz extremism, separatism, and enmity toward the Georgians—parliament or certain reactionary-minded generals—if the president is unable to fulfill his obligations?!

Difficulties have recently arisen also in the economic sphere. In the regulation of individual economic problems, they are demanding that we make political concessions. We have to state that we are a poor country; we are on the brink of starvation and in dire need and internal strife is causing us great difficulties. However, no one will see us down on our knees with an outstretched hand. No one will be able to compromise our human dignity.

In spite of the fact that the situation today is tense, nevertheless, I believe that Russia's policy toward Georgia is assuming a positive form and is being shaped taking into account the interests of both peoples in order to guarantee peace and stability in the region.

As regards the population of Russian nationality, I state with full responsibility: They (including Russian servicemen and their families) are our fellow citizens; many of them are our fellow countrymen having been born and raised here. Therefore, there is no need for any of the demagogic statements by individual generals about the necessity of protecting the interests of the Russian population in Georgia. Their legal rights will be protected by the Georgian authorities in the same way as the rights of Georgians.

We assume the same responsibility toward our brother Armenians, Azeris, Abkhaz, Greeks, Ossetians, Ukrainians, Jews, Kurds, and citizens of all other nationalities living on blessed Georgian soil.

At the UN, I raised the question of the creation of a system of collective security of the countries in the Black Sea basin and Caucasus region. At the same time, it is necessary to form an effective global system of security and a rational balance between regional and world systems.

Next year, a permanent UN mission will be opened in Tbilisi and it will occupy an important position in the life of our region and will become a reliable instrument for the protection of human rights here and for the just regulation of problems concerning national minorities.

It is necessary to write the history of Georgian diplomacy that stretches back many thousands of years and create a scientific center for the practice and theory of Georgian diplomacy and a national center for training diplomatic cadres—an institute of Georgian diplomacy and international relations.

A law on citizenship must be adopted at the level of international norms and European standards of human rights. This is the primary task of the new parliament.

I would like to raise one problem as a question for discussion: Perhaps we should introduce dual citizenship for Georgians living abroad. Let then all Georgian patriots living abroad simultaneously be citizens of the Georgian state.

Today a political battle is being waged between the historical forces of the obsolete conservative authoritarian and totalitarian regime and the new democratic and humane system. The forces of freedom and democracy are the main political driving force of history. The future belongs to them.

A democratic parliamentary Georgian state is finally being established on the ruins of political dictatorship. This is neither a federation nor a confederation in the traditional sense. This is an indissoluble single Georgian

state of a new type that signifies the existence of autonomous formations in conditions of the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity.

I support autonomies but there are forces that are opposed to autonomy. Political discussions are going on with regard to this question. There is quite a large section of our public that believes that the existence of these types of autonomies is unjustified. I personally am in favor of the existence of autonomies within the framework of a united single strong Georgian state.

Beyond the current political or military battles, we should view and protect the main strategic direction of development of our history. In this historical and philosophical battle between the old and new, the new will be victorious but, unfortunately, at the cost of considerable bloodshed and victims.

As Jefferson said, the tree of life of American democracy is dripping with blood. The tree of life of Georgian democracy, the tree of knowledge and good and evil, to our great regret, is also dripping with blood. This blood has been spilt for the sake of the Motherland.

Our political and legal views imply the creation of a new type of democratic national state, the formation of a new democratic type of society in Georgia, taking into account the achievements of world civilization; the adoption of a new constitution, the elaboration of the structure and style and methods of work of a new type of parliament, the establishment of law and order on the level of the new world order, the introduction of the status of Georgian citizenship, the issuing of new Georgian passports, and so forth.

It is clear from electors' letters and telegrams and the materials of the preelection campaign that the inhabitants of Georgia are interested in how a candidate for the post of parliamentary chairman is put forward, the structure, functioning, and forms, style, and methods of work of the future parliament, the activities of the commissions, the status of a deputy, the procedure for drafting bills, relations with party factions, the opposition, and the electors, the fulfillment of their instructions, cooperation with the world's parliaments, and so forth.

To reply briefly to these questions, I would say that I am familiar with all the different types of parliaments in the world, including those of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and the parliaments of other advanced democratic countries, I have frequently met with their leaders, and delivered speeches from their lofty platform. I would like to assure the electors, each one of you, that if you elect us, we will try to do everything to ensure that Georgia's new parliament will represent a concentrated expression of the achievements of the democratic parliaments of the world. This is our intention.

Our future parliament should stand on the level of the world's most democratic parliaments. This is one of the aims of my life and one of the main postulates of our political philosophy.

While working on the Statute on the Parliamentary Elections, the State Council set itself one main aim: To guarantee the electors the free expression of their will and maximum opportunities to parties and individuals participating in the elections. We want all the basic social groups and strata and all the basic political parties and forces that the people consider to be the exponents of their aspirations to be represented in parliament.

The particular features of the Statute on the Elections, including the proposed procedure for the election of the parliamentary chairman, have been conditioned by precisely this aim. This innovation was the result of agreement reached by the political forces participating in the elections. It was an action that expressed their collective will and was not a legal novelty imposed on them by someone from outside. The Statute on the Elections proposed to the people by the State Council is, of course, not insured against shortcomings but account should be taken of the fact that it is the fruit of lengthy labor and compromises and reflects that reality in which our country finds itself today.

As we said, the new parliament should prepare and elaborate a new constitution in which the structure of the supreme and local organs of power, the justice system, and fundamental questions of national and state structure, citizenship, and citizens' rights and freedoms will be reflected on the basis of the experience of Georgian and modern parliamentarianism.

The draft constitution to be approved by parliament should probably become a subject for national discussion. Only a constitution that has been prepared and ratified in this way can become a firm guarantee of the stability of social and political life in the country, democracy, unity, the territorial integrity of the state, and citizens' rights and freedoms.

Constitutional problems cannot be resolved without argued scientific conclusions. I am convinced that the new constitution will be a document that corresponds to the centuries-old political and legal culture of Georgia but its elaboration and adoption will take time.

Before preparing and adopting a draft constitution, parliament should, in all probability, adopt a legislative act that, taking into account the most serious political, social, and economic situation, will resolve the questions of the creation and functioning of the supreme and local organs of power and administration. This should be the Law "On State Power."

I believe that the form of state administration that should be ratified by this law is a parliamentary republic. At this stage, it is precisely this form that corresponds to the correlation of political forces in the country, the

requirements of the Statute on the Elections, and the spirit of the December-January events

I view the future parliamentary republic as a structure of organs of state power and administration where parliament is the main organ of political life. It deals not only with legislative activities but also implements supreme control over executive power. Control is implemented in three basic directions: over the spending of state funds, the legality of the activities of the Government and its staff, or in the form of cadres policy. These are those basic reins of government with whose help parliament is called upon to implement the supremacy of its power.

How stable life in the state will be will depend largely on how effectively parliament will fulfill these functions. Although we already have a certain experience of parliamentarianism, it is no secret that we are still a long way from having a professional parliament. Parliamentarianism is a unique cultural phenomenon or a system of legal, moral, and political norms and traditions that should be formed as a result of many years of practice. Without this, the development of democracy and the establishment of civilized norms of state administration are unthinkable.

I would like to assure all the political parties that the rights not only of the majority but also of the minority will be constitutionally guaranteed in the future parliament.

The supreme representative organ should, by its existence, stimulate pluralism and a multiparty system.

A multiparty system is one of the basic mechanisms for protecting society from authoritarianism. We should be interested in the formation of political parties and their development. I see future parliamentary life not as the democracy of the majority but as the search for consensus, compromise, and the synthesis of political thought. Accordingly, the appropriate legal guarantees for ensuring the rights of party groups and factions should be formulated first in a law on power and then in the constitution.

It is an undisputable truth that, in order to ensure relatively stable conditions of life in such a situation in which Georgia now finds itself, it is necessary to have a strong administration. The question naturally arises: How are we to combine strong centralized administration with the classic doctrine of the division of power that is a basic principle of democracy?

Flexibility is inherent in the doctrine of the division of power. In the very best way, it accords with the concrete situation that has taken shape in one country or another. It is precisely through coordination with concrete historical circumstances that politicians of various countries, in particular, the founders of the constitutional system of the United States, have introduced it into state practice.

It is significant that the doctrine of the division of power in its pure classical form has not been established in any state. One can recall at least the American variant of this

doctrine that is known under the name of the system of "deterrence and balance [gatsonastsoreba]."

At this historical stage, the aim of our variant of the concept of the division of power should be the creation of a strong centralized administration that will guarantee unity, territorial integrity, the state security of Georgia, and the rights and freedoms of its citizens, protect their ability to live in peace, and guarantee the protection of the rights of national minorities.

The principle of the delimitation of state power does not exclude but, on the contrary, implies the joint participation of organs from various spheres in the resolution of the most important questions. It is wholly obvious that this should not lead to the merging of the functions of legislative, executive, and judicial powers and an infringement upon the independence of the corresponding organs.

The doctrine of the division of state power does not at all signify the creation of some kind of triple power. The source of power is the people and, correspondingly, supreme state power is indivisible. It is essential that there should be a delimitation and mutual balancing of functions so that no single organ is granted unlimited power.

In a situation such as Georgia finds itself in today, there exists a range of urgent tasks that neither parliament nor executive power can cope with resolving wholly by themselves. Naturally, the necessity will arise to create a mechanism to which parliament will delegate law-enforcement, control, and organizational functions concerning a certain range of questions and for a limited period of time. At the same time, it will ensure the coordinated functioning of the executive organs. I view such a link in the state mechanism not as the individual power of some person but a collegial organ that is responsible before parliament. This should be a formation similar to the State Council but of a new type comprising 10-15 persons under the leadership of the parliamentary chairman.

I would like to state unequivocally that within the framework of such an organ I categorically insist on the creation of a state defense council or a council of national security lead by the parliamentary chairman. Recent events have confirmed that we committed a serious political mistake in refusing to create such an institute several months ago. The creation of such a link is necessary if only to make the parliamentary republic strong and lasting and to give it protection.

The question logically arises: What kind of society are we building? What is this? Is it pure capitalism or are trends toward a return to socialism emerging?

We are building a national state taking into account the requirements of modern civilization and contemporary democratic standards. In 1988, in one of my speeches in New York, I said that future society will be a synthesis of what has been created by progressive mankind during the

times of all the sociopolitical and socioeconomic formations at all stages of its development. This political philosophy should form the basis of the construction of a new Georgian state.

Our historical tradition, the intellect of the nation, national creative energy, and the ability to creatively assimilate world experience should receive concentrated expression in the concept of the building of the Georgian state. We have to prove that we have the strength not only to assimilate and repeat the experience of the advanced civilized countries but also to develop it creatively.

The political parties and parliamentary factions should actively participate in the formation of the Government, the distribution of ministerial portfolios, and other institutional activities. The elections have not yet been held but the struggle for ministerial portfolios is already being waged in the corridors.

Electors are asking me: How does the candidate imagine relations between parliament and the judicial authorities?

What is necessary is not only the democratic division and differentiation of the authorities into three parts—legislative (parliament), executive (State Council, Cabinet of Ministers), and judicial (constitutional court, senate, magistrature, and so forth)—but also the coordination and direction of their activities on the basis of the supremacy of the Constitution and the law. Otherwise, we will have an insurmountable imbalance in the functioning of political structures.

The Law "On State Power" and the new constitution should set aside a particular place for the formation of genuinely independent judicial authorities in the republic.

The function of controlling the legality of the activities of both the legislative and executive organs should be given to the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court together with the Supreme Court and district and local courts should form a system of courts in the republic whose organizational leadership should be given to one organ. It will fulfill the functions of a Western board of magistrates. This name is a provisional one. It will be discussed by the newly elected parliament. The main thing is its essence.

In future, it is probable that judges (and not only them) will be granted powers to raise the question of the recognition of the unconstitutionality of one law or another in the Constitutional Court.

The formation of full-fledged judicial power will be the subject of judicial reform whose implementation will be a task for the near future.

Parliament should devote particular attention to regulating the problems of local self-administration. The sphere of authority of organs of self-administration should be extended in such a way that they will be able to resolve independently all the basic problems of local significance on the territory under their jurisdiction. As soon as possible after the parliamentary elections, we

should set about preparing elections to local organs of administration; this process should not be delayed.

The Government and all hierarchical levels of power should be law-abiding. The country should be governed not by an individual or a party but by the law. We should create a Georgian rule-of-law state. The supremacy of the constitution and the law should become the credo and the cornerstone of a rule-of-law state.

Today, the electors are extremely worried by the destabilization, terror, and more complex criminal situation.

I believe that it is impossible to establish a new civilized order unless we have strong rule and the police, courts, Procurator's Office, the bar, and the Information and Intelligence Service function more effectively in the center and in the localities. The sakrebulo and gameobas [local councils] are called upon to play a big role in this.

We should overcome such shameful phenomena as the kidnapping of people, extortion, bribery, racketeering, the arbitrariness of mafia formations, including in politics and in the economy, the narcotics business, brigandage, robbery, banditry, and many other negative phenomena that are threatening the country with catastrophe.

That structure of national security about which I was speaking to you earlier should enable us to establish order and to emerge from the state of chaos and irresponsibility.

If the electors confirm their agreement with my proposals by voting for me, I will try, by relying on the support of the population and help from parliament, to create normal living and working conditions for people.

Naturally, in the system of executive power, the greatest and most important work has to be done by the Government, whose formation, I am convinced, we will all set about with the greatest responsibility.

IV

The new parliament and new Government should elaborate and implement a well-founded, politically acceptable, and economically realistic program of social protection for the working masses and for each individual. It should become the political instrument for governing social processes.

The breakup of the classes and social strata of the old society and the formation of new social structures is currently under way in the social sphere. This is an objective unavoidable historical phenomenon. Other forces are emerging onto the historical arena. A market economy and competition are being established with all the political, economic, and social consequences proceeding from this.

Today, the social shifts are being accompanied by the formation of new social forces and groups. Businessmen, farmers, managers, bankers, millionaires, and so forth are appearing here. This process has to be controlled at

the level of a rational policy. The problems of equality and justice are being raised anew.

We must give careful thought and consideration to the formation of our Georgian business. There will be no market economy without big business but this has to be precisely Georgian business. We should create Georgian businessmen who will be particularly responsible before their own country and people and toward the economy, culture, and spiritual life, and so forth.

The problem of forming Georgian business and Georgian businessmen and patriots is on the agenda.

The State Council, the Government, and I personally believe that it is our duty to truthfully tell the electors that the first stage of the transfer to a market economy will result in a certain impoverishment among a significant sector of society. This is an objective process that accompanies competition and it cannot be avoided. Such is the cruel reality.

The immediate concern of parliament and the Government is to prevent the worst and most serious consequences, first and foremost, hunger and impoverishment. This is the number one problem.

A social program is a concentrated expression of the successes achieved in the economy and in politics. A social program sums up what society gives man and what man gives society. Therefore, first and foremost, my understanding of the social protection of people at the first stage of economic reform entails such a policy that guarantees each citizen of Georgia a minimum for subsistence (communal services, food, wages, clothing, and so forth). This minimum should be determined at a scientific level.

In conditions of a market economy, it is necessary to balance the budget to the optimum degree, saturate the market with essential goods, food products, and other goods at the level of medical (physiological) norms of consumption, and satisfy a person's other needs.

A comparison of national norms of consumption of goods with world standards shows that, from the point of view of supplying the population and consuming goods, we find ourselves today occupying one of the bottom places in Europe and we lag behind many countries in Asia, even the developing countries. This is the bitter truth and we are obliged to tell it to the people.

The situation that has taken shape is threatening the health of current and future generations and the demographic prospects of the Georgian nation. The birthrate is decreasing, the mortality rate among young people is increasing, and a threat has been posed to the national genetic fund. If these processes are not halted, we can expect a social and national catastrophe.

We are a country with a small land mass and the amount of food products produced by Georgia is sufficient to last barely a few months. We rely upon imports. Imports primarily demand hard currency. However, Georgia's State Treasury does not have such currency due to a

decline in the economy, a one-third decline in production, and other reasons. For the time being, we are basically forced to turn to our old economic ties, for the main, to the market of the ruble zone rather than to countries belonging to the economic space of the dollar or mark. A significant factor is the help that we receive from Europe and the United States. If we achieve political stability and if everything quiets down and we start to live like normal people and civilized nations, we will receive even more assistance from Europe, the United States, and other states. **This is the first thing.**

Second. It is essential to halt inflation, balance market prices and citizens' purchasing power and bring them into line with one another, bring the family budget out of the crisis of inflation and devaluation, and **proportionately raise prices and wages.**

I have already stated and repeat that prices should be free and, parallel to this, wages, pensions, and grants should be increased.

Third. Unemployment, in conditions of a market economy, is, unfortunately, an immutably negative phenomenon. There are today in Georgia up to 70,000 persons unemployed. This figure will increase further next year. **We should implement an emergency program of social assistance for the unemployed and struggle against unemployment.** The Government and State Council and corresponding ministries and departments are working on this question. However, more intensive and effective work is needed in this direction.

Fourth. It is necessary to socially protect those segments with low incomes that remain below the poverty line and improve the system of compensations. Today, 20-25 percent of the population of Georgia lives below the poverty line. This is a social calamity and, at the same time, a socially explosive mass.

Fifth. As I have said, it is necessary to improve the taxation system and the practice of introducing and using vouchers, certificates, bonds, and so forth. For your information: One Russian Government voucher is worth 10,000 rubles. Russia is spending for this purpose more than 2 trillion rubles. The difficulties of a voucher system are very great in Georgia but it has to be implemented. This is one of the effective measures of social protection of the population.

Sixth. It is necessary to implement a wide program of social protection for students, war and labor veterans, pensioners, women, invalids, large families, orphans, the disabled, and other segments of the population. Alongside state funds, we should form private pension funds, medical insurance companies, labor exchanges, and charitable institutions. We must also create new types of employment services.

I am certain that our foreign partners and colleagues who view economic cooperation with Georgia as a promising thing will participate in the formation of private funds.

There exist the wealthiest worldwide funds with which we must establish ties. This channel should be used effectively.

I would particularly like to speak about students and pupils. We must activate all the reserves and opportunities in order to secure Georgia's future. I wish to apologize to the young people for what the older generations have been unable to do. However, I believe that a better time will come and Georgia, at the turn of the 21st century, will be one of the most interesting, highly developed, and prosperous countries. We can only achieve this through active work, study, and the support of all generations, including the youth, my younger friends! The question concerning the young is for us the most important one.

The social protection of the young is a matter for the whole population.

I appeal to Georgian mothers and Georgian women who are one of the fundamental driving forces of our society and, as they say, a source of our strength. I know well and each one of us knows very well how many tears are being shed, what misfortune surrounds us, and what difficult minutes, hours, and days your families are experiencing. However, I rely upon your magnanimity, your courage, and your devotion to our country. I hope that, during these most difficult days, particularly on 11 October, you will be there where all our people will be and will resolve the election questions in a way that corresponds to the interests of your families, children, and grandchildren.

Seventh. We should increase the role of the Government, political parties, constructive opposition, trade unions, and the mass media in the social protection of workers. In this direction, it is necessary to coordinate better and correct the work of Government structures. I have already expressed the idea that it would be expedient to implement constructive changes in Government structures; in particular, it is necessary to separate the systems of health protection and social security so that each of them may better fulfill the functions entrusted to it.

Eighth. It is essential to protect the environment and implement large-scale measures here. This is the number one problem. I am sure that parliament will ratify a state ecological program and organize a national referendum on this issue.

Ninth. By means of bringing wages in line with prices and creating private funds and applying European and American matrices and models of financing, the transfer from a free to a paid medical service and paid secondary and higher education with the preservation, to a certain degree, of a network of free education and medical service should be implemented painlessly. A talented and capable young generation is the treasure house of the nation. Not a single young person should feel himself frustrated; the broad road to culture and education must be open to all. Special measures should be taken for the social protection of talented youth. The nation should not lose any talent.

The reform of national education and secondary and high schools will be put on the agenda. At present, this system is developing almost spontaneously, which is costing the state dear. One of the first steps to be taken by the new parliament and authorities should be aimed at regulating this sphere.

As I have said, the radical reform of the system of health protection is also unavoidable for the good of the nation.

In a rule-of-law state, it is not only individual social sections but all sectors of the population that are eligible for health protection. This is the fundamental essence of our conception.

These are basically the tasks of the first stage in the sphere of social protection. The first stage entails a program of social salvation for the people engulfed by the crisis and anarchy.

At the second stage, however, the policy of social protection should be built on the philosophy of the quality of life. This means an orientation toward world standards regarding the standard of living.

V

In concrete social research and in electors' letters, the following question clearly comes to the fore: What are the views of the candidate for the post of parliamentary chairman with regard to the sphere of national defense?

Georgia's military doctrine is civilized, humane, and peace-oriented; it has its political, economic, social, and military-defense aspects. We will pursue a policy of active neutrality and will maintain a position of active defense but we will rebuff as necessary any aggressor, relying upon our own forces and the world community of nations.

It is difficult to speak on this subject calmly today when a war is raging in separate parts of Georgia.

This is already a complex problem but has been rendered more so today, **on the one hand**, by the destabilization that reigns in the republic and, **on the other**, by Georgia's changed geopolitical situation following its adoption of independence. The old guarantees have been destroyed and new ones have not been created while the transitional period is extremely unstable and explosive.

It is a fact that freedom is easier to acquire than to defend since the acquisition of freedom is a lengthy but single historical act while its defense is eternal. All the more honorable is the mission that has been entrusted to the Georgian Army, subunits of the Air Force and Navy, soldiers, officers, and generals.

In Georgia today, **on the one hand**, there are seats of civil war in individual places, **on the other**, preparations are practically being made for a civil war while, **third**, acute political, economic, and social crises have grown into ethnic conflicts. All this is threatening Georgia's territorial integrity.

Therefore, the Army and Navy that we are creating today should, first and foremost, serve the defense of the independence and territorial integrity of Georgia, its land, sea, and air borders, and the republic's constitutional and democratic system and national security.

Georgia's political orientation is gradually becoming Western and primarily centered on Europe and America. This is a strategic direction of policy but it is in no way aimed against third countries. This in no way signifies the severing of traditional friendly ties with historical neighbors.

If we abandon coexistence with our historical neighbors (Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, Iran, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the peoples of the North Caucasus), we will not be able to exist on our own. Therefore, our military doctrine and our international military ties should be exclusively defensive, humane, and civilized. They should never be directed either against our neighbors nor, in general, against a single third side unless it resorts to aggression against us.

Today, we find ourselves in a complex unstable geopolitical environment in which there is a clash of vital interests between the world's gigantic states, civilizations, and fundamental religious and ideological movements. This factor is taken into account in our military doctrine.

We should create a single, and only a single, modern concept of the development of Georgia's Armed Forces and military industry. The idea of reasonable sufficiency should form the basis for the creation of the Army, Air Force, and Navy.

In accordance with general European and American norms, the state's defense forces should not exceed 0.6-0.8 percent of the whole population. Thus, the size of the Georgian Army in peacetime should not exceed 20-25,000 men. During wartime, everyone down to the last man should be called up to the ranks.

We should increase the role and authority of the Ministry of Defense and professional persons should occupy key positions.

If individual subunits of the Russian Army located in Georgia express the wish to become a part of the Georgian Armed Forces, we should view this as a positive and extremely necessary step. This is one of the well-trying ways of quickly and economically creating a modern army.

Regarding the fate of the Russian Army in Georgia, I have repeatedly stated and now wish to say: We favor a resolution of the question through civilized normal negotiations.

The role of certain Russian generals has manifested itself in an extremely negative way in events in Abkhazia. I have already named names. One of them is a commander who fought in Afghanistan. I have the impression that he is guided by the same "Afghan" principles in relation to Georgia. With the help of such "friends," the

extremists and newcomers from the mountains seized Gagra, Gantiadi, and Leselidze. However, they are mistaken if they think that, once they retire, they will be given the plot of Georgian land promised to them for "particular services rendered."

The Georgian Army will stand on the Psou River, at the gateway to Georgia. I am sure that certain high-ranking Russian state officials will understand what the sovereignty of a state means and what significance the border has for a sovereign state.

My sharp comments do not concern the military formations and command authorities that are located here and well known to you. They will remain in Georgia for a period of time and have a status that will be determined by a Russian-Georgian treaty. When they leave Georgia, we want very much that they go away with good memories of our people, their culture and humanism.

It is desirable to form a military academy in Georgia.

The Georgian National Army should cooperate with the armies of all the world's democratic states, NATO, and the Russian and Turkish armies; it should learn modern military world experience and should be equipped with modern weapons, strategy, and tactics. It should be an army of peace, freedom, and democracy.

Georgia should receive from the former Transcaucasian Military District its lawful due: combat equipment, training facilities, the corresponding part of the Black Sea Fleet, and other property. The State Council has already adopted a decree on this question that has to be implemented without fail. However, this will take time.

Once more I would like to say that the aggravation of relations with our neighbors does not correspond to Georgia's national interests.

An independent Georgia cannot move to the moon. Whether it likes it or not, it will have to live alongside Russia and Turkey and its other neighbors. Therefore, we should maintain good-neighborly relations with both countries. There is no alternative to good relations with Russia and Turkey and the other neighbors for the sensible Georgian.

The question of training national officer cadres is an urgent matter today. We believe it is necessary: **One.** To call up to the Georgian Army those Georgian officers who are currently serving in the Russian Armed Forces. Some 150-200 young Georgians are currently completing their studies at the military academy. We call upon all of them to come and serve their Motherland. The appropriate conditions will be created for them here. **Second.** To draw up contracts to invite foreign specialists to join the Georgian Army; we have to master the experience of NATO and the armies of neutral states. **Third.** We do not have the appropriate training facilities for our National Army and, therefore, no matter how much the opposition is against this idea, there is no other way: We should

still use the corresponding facilities of the Russian Armed Forces to form and train the Georgian Army and its officers and generals.

We understand the opposition's concern, but it should know that there are people sitting in the Georgian State Council and the republic's government who are no less patriotic than them. We also understand that it is necessary to remove the armed forces of a foreign state, but there is a certain time for everything and to determine when this should happen also requires time. In politics, you cannot do what you want; you can only do what is possible.

The military genes of the Georgian people have been recognized throughout the world. The Army of David Aghmashenebeli [ruler of Georgia, 1089-1125] was the strongest not only from the military, but also from the moral point of view. We must restore the patriotic, humanitarian, and heroic traditions of our Army, strengthen discipline, create a modern theory and practice of strategic and tactical thinking, and draw the appropriate conclusions from our defeats. I have in mind the military actions in Gagra and their consequences.

We value highly the historical role of the Georgian Guard, the Mkhedrioni, and other military formations. At the same time, I categorically raise the question of creating a single, well-organized, and well-trained army. A new stage presents new tasks. A new modern army with a single command and control requires new tasks. We gradually have to transfer to establishing the institution of voluntary recruits as this is the most effective form of military organizational development.

VI

Our people and the electors are worried by the ethnic conflicts and the hot spots on the map of the republic. The authorities should elaborate a program for overcoming the ethnic crises and the achievement of consensus between nations. This is wholly possible.

The public at large knows very well the reasons for the Abkhaz conflict and the main trends and results of the conflict. Abkhaz extremists and separatists have destabilized the situation in Abkhazia, brought anarchy and chaos, violated the Georgian Constitution, illegally "restored" the so-called Abkhaz Constitution of 1925 and endangered Georgia's territorial integrity, and have succeeded in provoking an unprecedented political, economic, and military crisis. I repeat once again that the Georgian troops did not go there to fight. It was not our intention to fight against the Abkhaz or the Russians. Our Army had its mission: to protect the appropriate highways and communications and so forth. However, Abkhaz extremists succeeded in provoking a confrontation, after which it already became impossible to overcome this conflict. An analysis of the so-called Abkhaz "program" for resolving the Abkhaz conflict shows that it is anticonstitutional and antidemocratic and, as such, unacceptable for civilized politics.

The situation that has taken shape today in Abkhazia is also a result of the development of historical conflicts; it has deep roots in the past.

If we are unable to correctly analyze the processes under way here, we will never be able to regulate them. We have to gain a good understanding of the internal and external factors to elaborate the right policy.

First. The Abkhaz internal conflict has become more acute and grown into aggression by armed forces of the so-called Confederation of Caucasian Mountain Peoples [CCMP]. The aggression has assumed the character of annexation and the invaders today control Gudauta and Gagra rayons; they have flouted civilized norms of international law and are resorting to barbarism and vandalism regarding the local population on the territory seized by them. These are the facts relating to the problem.

Second. These facts need to be interpreted. The seats of local civil war and ethnic conflicts have grown into large-scale military operations and the war has acquired the character of a patriotic war for Georgia with all the social and political consequences proceeding from this.

Third. Who is supporting the Abkhaz extremists, those who hate the Georgians? First and foremost, the so-called CCMP that now passes itself off as a confederation of peoples of the Caucasus with far-reaching plans. Many of the Russian leaders have not fully understood this problem and hence are interfering in these events unnecessarily.

The detachments that are armed to the teeth and fighting on the side of the Abkhaz extremists are, in their majority, made up of Russian citizens.

The troops of the Confederation view the Abkhaz conflict as one of the episodes of the second Caucasian war. According to their design, it should result in Abkhazia's separation from Georgia.

We should look for the reason for the war in Abkhazia in this group of problems. It is a falsehood to maintain that the Abkhaz conflict ostensibly arose as a result of the events in December and January. The reasons for this conflict are much deeper.

The Abkhaz extremists and hired bands of Shanibov's Confederation took advantage of the dislocation of the Georgian Army as a pretext for war. The real reason for the war, however, can be found in what I said earlier: infringement upon the territorial integrity of Georgia, the separation of Abkhazia from Georgia.

Many are trying to explain the reasons for the conflict through the religious factor. In this respect, I can state: Our attitude toward the Muslim peoples was determined long ago. We want to live in friendship and brotherhood with all Muslims and all Turkish-speaking countries and peoples since universal ideals are one and the same: Humanism, democracy, freedom, brotherhood, and

friendship are equally dear to everyone irrespective of their faith, nationality, and race.

We are struggling against reactionary doctrines whether they be Muslim-fundamentalist, Bolshevik, or fascist in origin.

The main question is: What are we to do? On the one hand, we should actively include in the peaceful resolution of the Abkhaz conflict the UN rapid reactionary forces, the European Parliament, NATO peacekeeping forces, international organizations, including the Helsinki Movement, and the world media. I have to tell you that a session of the UN Security Council was held yesterday that discussed the Abkhaz conflict. The session lasted a whole two hours. Our statement formed the basis of the discussion. We were informed that the personal representative of the UN Secretary General and a special UN delegation led by the UN Deputy Secretary General will be arriving in Georgia in the next few days to fathom the situation that has taken shape in Abkhazia and help to resolve it in a just way. On the other hand, the agreement on the regulation of the Abkhaz conflict should be fulfilled. Russia's responsibility here is particularly great.

Unfortunately, the resolution of the conflict by military means is today assuming a topical character. We have to be ready for this.

A necessary condition for resolving the Abkhaz conflict by political means is for the Abkhaz detachments and the detachments of foreign mercenaries to quickly return to the positions occupied by them before 1 October. Otherwise, the adoption of new documents and the declaration of new statements have no sense.

I do not rule out the more active participation at the next stage in the regulation of the Abkhaz conflict of the alliance of Black Sea states, particularly Turkey. Preparatory work has already been done. Let Russia participate, let Turkey and the alliance of Black Sea states also have their say as the danger is so great that it may develop into an international conflict.

We favor the strategy and tactics of reconciliation; we demand the suppression of the "third force" and the withdrawal of the military formations of the so-called CCMP from the territory of Georgia.

We stated from the lofty platform at the UN that Abkhazia was, is, and always will be an integral part of Georgia; this is holy ancient Georgian land.

We will never reconcile ourselves to the discrimination of Georgians in Abkhazia, that is to say in Georgia itself.

I said at the UN that, in order to elect one Abkhaz to the Abkhaz parliament, three times fewer votes were necessary than to elect one Georgian deputy. Does this not, after all, represent the ethnic dictatorship of the Abkhaz toward Georgians living in Abkhazia?!

The intervention of mercenaries from the CCMP must be halted once and for all.

The resolution adopted by the Russian Parliament in connection with the conflict in Abkhazia is a model of gross and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Georgia and could have far-reaching negative consequences in relations between Georgia and Russia.

In spite of the negative events, our policy should be positive and flexible. In our political consciousness, we should not identify Abkhaz separatists and extremists with the Abkhaz people. In the struggle against bands of extremists, we should rely upon the healthy forces of the Abkhaz people. I state once again: There do not exist any problems in Georgian-Abkhaz relations that cannot be resolved.

I am deeply convinced that the Georgian and Abkhaz peoples will overcome this conflict. My historical optimism has a realistic basis. A guarantee of this is the historical traditions of friendship between Georgians and Abkhaz.

In the regulation of permanent conflicts in Abkhazia, we need to interpret anew the role of Georgians living there and increase their political activity.

I stated in New York and Moscow that not only hired detachments of mountain people from the North Caucasus were participating in the conspiracy against Georgia but also Russian reactionary forces, including the so-called "red-brown" reactionaries in alliance with extreme fundamentalists and homebred fascists and separatists.

In the Abkhaz question we should distinguish between the positions of the Russian president and parliament and between the actions of progressive and reactionary forces.

The UN will soon be discussing the draft Declaration on the Rights of National Minorities. I raised the question not only about the rights but also responsibilities of national minorities. It is my deep conviction that rights do not exist without responsibilities.

There exists a second Gordian knot of serious conflicts in Georgia. This is the conflict in Shida Kartli and Samachablo, the so-called South Ossetian conflict. The historical lesson and also experience of the political regulation of this conflict will teach us a lot. It is necessary to evaluate objectively the current situation, correctly determine future prospects, and restore the age-old friendship between the Georgian and Ossetian peoples.

We must consolidate upon the first results of the peaceful regulation of the conflict in the Tskhinvali region. We should note the constructive role of one part of the leadership of Russia and particularly North Ossetia during the first stage of the regulation of the conflict in this area by peaceful means.

Together with political institutions, the Academy of Sciences is called upon to play a big role in the elaboration of vitally important problems affecting the nation. We should set up a center to study the problems of national relations, ethnic minorities, and autonomous

formations. We need to elaborate strategic and tactical and practical-scientific recommendations.

I appeal to all the peoples living in Georgia for cooperation, brotherhood, and friendship. In the event of their election, both parliament and its chairman will fully guarantee the protection of their rights.

We should all understand that the former president and his patrons prevent us from strengthening friendship between peoples. The tragedy instigated by them reminds us of a political apocalypse. How many people have died in the conflicts instigated by them, including military conflicts! How many billions of rubles of damage have they caused the Georgian economy? This is an extremely sad and negative trend upon which we are forced to reflect. However, these negative events have hastened the arrival of positive processes: The nation that was divided into many parties and political and ethnic camps has united for the defense of the Motherland; a remarkable consolidation of the nation has taken place.

The representatives of national minorities living in Georgia have supported the Georgian people in their hour of need and have taken part in the armed formations. We give a big thankyou to each one of them from this lofty platform. This is our common great historical achievement and it will never be forgotten in the Georgian chronicles of the brotherhood of nations.

VII

Today, unfortunately, it is not only the economy and politics that are experiencing a deep crisis but also culture. Therefore, a program is being elaborated at Government level in the sphere of science and culture whose aim is the regeneration of science, education, and culture in Georgia and the establishment of close ties with world civilization.

I have to say that such a small country as Georgia will never be able to emerge onto the level of world and European standards unless its science is regenerated. This is very great capital. Our national intellectual potential is very high. It is precisely here, in this sphere, that we are hoping for help from our foreign friends and partners. Important scientific centers in Europe are ready to cooperate with us and help our young people master the achievements of science. Without considerable scientific progress, we will not be able to achieve great economic progress. We should remember this and science should become a subject of daily concern for us.

It is essential, at all costs, that we implement a national program for overcoming the cultural crisis. I once said and repeat now: **The Georgian people must save culture and culture must save the Georgian people.** The creation of a committee for the salvation of Georgian culture will have great national significance.

As is known, Georgian culture is one of the most ancient and unique cultures in the world. A Georgian's breast cannot fail to swell with legitimate pride when he casts a

thoughtful look at the history of his native culture. The Georgian alphabet was created 23 centuries ago. We adopted Christianity 1,600 years ago. The first Georgian literary work was written 15 centuries ago and has been preserved to this day. In the 5th century, we had a great philosopher of world renown, Petre Iberi (Pseudo-Dionise Areopageli). In the 4th-6th centuries, we already had an academy at Pazisi and later at Gelati and Iqalto. The masterly work of the Renaissance, "The Knight in the Panther's Skin," was written in the 12th century. Rustaveli preceded Dante by a whole century.

Our science, literature, art, music, architecture, theater, cinema, choreography, and paintings are indeed of world renown. Our achievements are great in all areas of material and spiritual culture and in sport.

We take pride in the Georgian Academy of Sciences and in contemporary Georgian scientists whose names are known all over the world.

Our task is to enable every generation to become familiar with the achievements of our national civilization and the spiritual capital of culture. We must not only reproduce them but also make our contribution to the development of science, education, and culture. Otherwise, the time link will be severed and progress will be halted. Such is the inexorable law of time.

Parliament, the Government, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture, the Academy of Sciences, the universities, and the creative unions are called upon to take an active part in the elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive, global, and national program of regeneration and development of the Georgian language and Georgian culture, science, literature, and art.

Georgia has already become a member of UNESCO. It is necessary to elaborate a national program of cooperation with UNESCO.

I consider it expedient to hold a world congress in Tbilisi of Georgians living abroad and to set up in our capital a permanently functioning international assembly of Georgians from all over the world with branches in New York, Paris, London, Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Istanbul....

We must concern ourselves with the cultures of national minorities: A country's level of civilization is gauged by the concern it shows for national minorities and its attitude to the cultures of other peoples.

It is our duty today to show state concern for the publication of Georgian books and Georgian language textbooks. They should be made accessible to the masses.

The tasks of the press, radio, television, and the Ministry of Information are increasing. We must familiarize ourselves with the positive and negative trends in this sphere and realistically assess the rating and prospects regarding our participation in the struggle of ideas and concepts in the world information war.

The press, radio, television, information agencies—the entire mass media system in Georgia—are obliged to work at the level of world standards. We must concern ourselves with improving their material and technical base.

A world information service should be created during the time of the elections and this should function permanently in the future. We should organize TV bridges with the capitals of various countries and with the world's cultural centers.

The Georgian Academy of Sciences should maintain creative contacts with the academies of all the world's advanced countries and annually hold a congress of kartvelologists [Georgian specialists] in Tbilisi. Georgia should study the experience of organizing political and scientific congresses, festivals, and Olympiads on a European and world scale and the hosting of important meetings and forums along the lines of banking and international financial centers.

VIII

The Georgian church and the Georgian Patriarch, the Most Holy and Beatific Ilia II, are capable of playing an essential role in relations between the Georgian democratic state and the Christian world.

The Christian moral is the greatest achievement of the civilization of mankind. I appeal to all who believe in God: Love your neighbor!

Both our myths and reality are beautiful.

As you know, Christianity as the state religion was adopted in Georgia in 337 but the first Christians appeared in western Georgia as early as the 1st century. Georgia is the country that was bestowed upon the Mother of God.

The Christian religion instilled in Georgians the messianic spirit and a faith in national forces. A Georgian poet of the 10th century said: During the second coming, the Lord will pass judgment on the world in Georgian. I believe this is only a poetic metaphor and I do not know whether He will pass judgment on the world in this language or not. However, it is a fact that this faith has saved the Georgian language and the Georgian nation.

We have to protect the Georgian language, the state language of sovereign Georgia, the language of Rustaveli, Ilia [Chavchavadze], Akaki [Tsereteli], Vazha [Pshavela], and Galaktion [Tabidze] and we must protect the monuments of Georgian culture.

Georgian tolerance, hospitality, and humanity are well known.

Various religions have always coexisted in Georgia: Christianity, Islam, Judaism, the church, the synagogue, and the mosque.

Muslim poets, philosophers, and thinkers were present at the court of the Christian King David Aghmashenebeli. This is Georgian historical tradition and a lesson in history. Today, as never before, we need religions to coexist in order to save humanism and the human race and strengthen the international prestige and authority of Georgia as a civilized country and make a worthy contribution to world politics and culture.

Parliament and the Government must do everything in order to save the nation and its language and faith and bring about the catharsis and renaissance of the Georgian soul.

Ladies and Gentlemen! Friends!

I again return to the subject of the parliamentary elections.

The first thing that I would like to speak about is the responsibility of the elector. We will not forget that our country is living in conditions of the most complex tension and semi-chaos. A parliament composed of worthy deputies is capable of leading it out of such a state. Today, more than ever before, we need industrious workers and professional, knowledgeable, educated and honest people.

Demagogues and populists, the masters of flattering speeches, and cheap faultfinders and unscrupulous politicians have corrupted the country. So, be careful!

I ask you, dear friends, think well before you make your decision. The fate of independent Georgia and its future will depend upon your choice.

Second, I want you to know that the idea of having the parliamentary chairman elected directly by the people is not mine but that of the State Council.

I, if elected to this honorable position, will try to justify the very great trust of the people and the State Council and devote all my strength, energy, and experience to building a new democratic, free, independent and sovereign Georgia.

I want my nation to become the richest and happiest in the world and its future to be unclouded.

The link between the periods of our history is indissoluble. The present, born of the past, gives birth to the future. The father of the nation, the great Ilia [Chavchavadze], uses these words from Leibnitz to teach us now and forever.

"Thou shalt not kill" says the Christian moral. Blood should never be spilt. However, if bloodshed can nevertheless be forgiven, it is only when the higher ideals of the nation demand this sacrifice. There is no justification but one can find an acceptable explanation.

May they be forever Blessed, all those heroes who have fallen for their Motherland! Let us stand in respect for their memory.

We are the nation that created the national chef d'oeuvre of world humanism "The Poem About the Tiger and the Young Knight" who both perished in their fight with one another. We recall how the Georgian mother weeps for her dead son and the words she says: "Perhaps the mother tiger weeps more bitterly than I." We are not that nation that is incapable of sharing another's pain. We equally feel the pain of every mother.

The chairman of the Georgian parliament, whether it be I or someone else, should be the leader of not only Georgians but also all peoples living in Georgia. This is my view.

The second millennium since the birth of Christ is coming to an end. The third millennium in the history of Christian mankind will begin in a few years. Georgia will enter the 21st century. This is a very important landmark. The crossroads of two centuries and two millennia. This places enormous responsibility on the present generations of Georgian people.

Let us take a thoughtful look at Georgian history, let us penetrate its philosophical soul, the soul of world history just like the great Ivane Javakhishvili. Facts on their own do not make history; it is from a philosophical interpretation of the fact that one begins to arrive at the essence and meaning of history. Let us master this art, let us

penetrate the dialectics of history and logic for, in so doing, we will render even greater service to our own people, Mother Georgia, world civilization, and the commonwealth of nations.

The father of the nation, the great Ilia Chavchavadze, is for me the model of patriotic service to the nation. He was and will remain the intellect and conscience of the nation.

I am, by profession and calling, a historian and pedagogue and a politician and diplomat and, as a person, a patriot, humanist, and son of my Motherland. I would like to address my opponents with the word of the great Galaktion [Tabidze]: There is not a drop of blood in me that is not Georgian. Both my words and feelings and deeds are Georgian.

I would like to tell the people from this lofty podium: I am with you, native Georgia, both in grief and joy, always and everywhere!

I appeal to all political parties for political consensus and civilized cooperation; I appeal to the nation for consolidation, and to the peoples for brotherhood and friendship!

Let the long-awaited peace and happiness reign for ever on Georgian land!

Estonia

Prime Minister Meets Local Leaders in Ethnic Russian Region

OW1211134592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1118
GMT 12 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A package of proposals to normalize the socio-economic situation in Narva, an industrial center in north-east Estonia with a predominantly Russian population was submitted to Prime-Minister Mart Laar who arrived there on Wednesday [11 November].

Local leaders appealed for credits to industrial enterprises where unemployment has risen to 50%, for assistance in completing the construction of several projects frozen for the lack of funding, amendments to the law on pensions and the reduction of some taxes.

During his meeting with the chairman of the Narva city council Vladimir Chuikin, the Mayor Vladimir Mizhul and other local officials Mart Laar introduced members of a government commission for north-east Estonia set up last week. He stressed that the purpose of the commission is to help the local authorities, not control their work. He also promised help in the organization of an Estonian language center in the city. It was agreed that on Thursday Mart Laar would meet representatives of the Narva trade union center and the union of unemployed.

Foreign Minister Says Russian Pullout Continues

LD1111001192 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in
Swedish 1700 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Excerpt] Russia continues to withdraw troops from Estonia despite President Yeltsin's decision to stop the withdrawal, the new Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste said at a news conference in Stockholm today after talks with Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas. [passage omitted]

Trivimi Velliste wants to interpret this as a sign of the difficult phase in the development Russia is at the moment. It is still too early to say how it will go with the troop withdrawal, Velliste said, but at least so far it has continued. A year ago there were 30,000 Russian soldiers on Estonian territory, currently there are about 11,000. That does not mean at all that we are satisfied, the Estonian foreign minister continued. What we have demanded and continue to demand is an agreement with Russia and a final date when all Russian troops will have left Estonia. [passage omitted]

Government Initials Legal Treaty With Latvia, Lithuania

OW1211060892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1635
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday, the Estonian government initialled the legal-assistance treaty with Lithuania and Latvia. This treaty regulates relations in the area of civil and family rights, as well as legal assistance in criminal cases. The parties concerned have committed themselves to inform on the individuals whose actions are qualified as crimes and deserve imprisonment of more than 2 years.

The parliament is to ratify this treaty.

The press service of the ministry of justice informed BALTFAX that a similar treaty between Estonia and Russia has only been coordinated at the level of the leaders of the working groups.

Norway, Sweden, Denmark Back Government Effort To Join EC

OW1211061492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1635
GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Denmark, Sweden and Norway back Estonia's efforts to become a member of the European Council, Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste announced during a press conference in Tallinn devoted to the results of his visits to Denmark and Sweden on November 4 to 10.

He said that during his visit he was asked many questions about the observance of human rights in Estonia. Velliste said that he had managed to convince Sweden and Denmark that human rights were observed in Estonia.

"One should carefully weigh-out President Yeltsin's proposal that human rights in Estonia should be discussed in the UN," said Velliste. "In the UN we would be able to demonstrate to the world that human rights in Estonia are properly observed."

Union Baltic Bank To Freeze State Enterprise Accounts

WS1011130292 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in
English 1059 GMT 9 Nov 92

[From 7 November RAAHVA HAAL, p 3]

[Text] Monday, November 9—Union Baltic Bank [UBB], one of the largest commercial banks in Estonia, is to freeze the accounts of all state enterprises and state companies from November 16, Chairman of the bank supervisory board Bulo Muldia announced. This has been caused by a critical situation caused by the freezing of the UBB approximately 40 million dollar account at the former Soviet Foreign Economic Bank. Unless the situation is solved soon it will mean a catastrophe for Estonian banking, UBB Chairman Valentin Porfiriev said. Estonian banks may lose their credibility for years, he warned. The Russian freeze has also concerned the Pohja-Eesti Aktsiapank (North Estonian Share Bank).

The UBB decision was meant as a warning for the Estonian government and the Bank of Estonia, Porfiriev said. Chairman of the Banking Union added that the situation is critical for all banks.

Parliament Discusses New Radio, TV Governing Board

LD1111212492 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Excerpts] Today's Riigikogu plenary session continued with a second reading of the draft law on copyrights. [passage omitted]

The draft presented to the Riigikogu on the formation of the governing board for radio and television does not mean that the government coalition wishes to introduce censorship. Illar Hallaste, chairman of the Fatherland faction assured the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE. The Fatherland finds that the board should be made up of five people of the electoral pact which won most votes, one from the Ministry of Culture and Education, one from the Ministry of Roads and Communications, and two representatives of cultural circles.

According to the opposition draft, the board should be made up of the chairman of the Riigikogu's Commission for Education, Science and Culture, four Riigikogu members, and eight members of public organizations.

According to the Fatherland faction chairman, the faction is prepared to withdraw its draft should the opposition put up a strong resistance in the Riigikogu. Illar Hallaste finds that new director generals should be appointed for radio and television. The Riigikogu will discuss the draft on the formation of the governing board for radio and television tomorrow.

Latvia

Foreign Minister Hopes Problems With Russia Temporary

OW1111043392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1646 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] I sincerely hope that problems in relations with Russia are temporary and there are many ways of resolving them, Latvia's new Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs has said. He believes that an improvement in bilateral relations will depend on "how strong democratic forces in Russia are".

Georgs Andrejevs, age 60, was endorsed as Latvian Foreign Minister by the republican parliament on Tuesday. He is an ethnic Latvian, but his family has some Russian roots. By profession Andrejevs is an anesthetist, Professor of medicine. He is not a member of any political parties.

Andrejevs was nominated candidate Foreign Minister by the head of the republican government and supported by the Latvian Popular Front and "Satversme" parliamentary factions. He received the cold shoulder from the members of the former "Equality" faction, who do not share his ideas on the question of citizenship.

Andrejevs believes that there should be no haste in settling the citizenship questions. He has told BF [BALTFAX] that first the democratic situation in Latvia has to be studied in detail and exact statistics received from a population census. He argues that only after that it would be possible to discuss naturalization quotas".

About the Russian troop pullout he said that his country, with support from the West, would "help Russia create the conditions for the early redeployment of army units to facilities prepared in advance".

Explains Plans for Foreign Policy

LD1111174692 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Excerpts] Today the Supreme Council adopted a resolution on the new foreign minister of the Republic of Latvia. He is Deputy Georgs Andrejevs, elected to the Supreme Council from Bauska. By profession he is a doctor, a rheumatologist. The Latvian foreign minister was born in Tukums in 1932.

At a news conference held upon his appointment to the post, one of the first questions concerned Mr. Andrejevs' nationality.

[Begin Andrejevs recording] My father, Nikolajs Andrejevs, (?is a Russian) born in Mazsalaca, that is, in Latvia. (?If we go) a lot farther back, we come to Frenchmen, that is, a general of Napoleon's was taken prisoner at the Battle of Borodino. [passage omitted] My mother is a pure-blooded Latvian, nothing mixed about it. [passage omitted] [end recording]

I will add that Georgs Andrejevs also knows English and German; at present he is learning French. Journalists at the news conference were also interested in how Latvian foreign policy will evolve toward the East and the West. This is what Georgs Andrejevs said:

[Begin Andrejevs recording] I think that if we are not optimistic, then the general trend [words indistinct]. Nevertheless life goes on, and if God has decided that reactionary forces do not come to power in Russia, then in solving the problems as a whole, (?as I understand it), making use of the foreign aid that is proffered, mainly in building homes in Russia, making use of humane relations with these army units, with the [word indistinct], the officers, and then undoubtedly [word indistinct], this issue can be regulated normally, without offending each other, and without creating any precedents here. I think that all these memoranda, these decrees, are again dictated by politics, and by balancing out everything for and against, there must be progress. [passage omitted]

Of course, and this is completely logical, the fact that the Soviet empire crumbled, the fact that the West had need of every fighter, even little ones, who helped the crumbling of this big empire, the interest for these small [words indistinct] than after it happened. The fact that they all got their independence, that all of them have started to create more problems than political capital for the West—and you cannot demand in these times that the West become extremely active in standing up for each one separately, if somewhere there's always someone smelling of some sort of discomfort, differences of opinion, protests, because West Europe is very used to a peaceful way of life. [sentence as heard] It's all outside their life, it's completely impossible for them to get involved in some essential conflict.

We can talk about condemnations, declarations, combating things—if they don't work, then everything is paralyzed. Every assistance, as expressed in the same form for the discussions of the problems of Croatia and the rest of Yugoslavia, is too little, too late. This term, "too little, too late" has in English passed into diplomatic terminology, and everyone who gets up to debate, stating and condemning the impotence, really everything they do is too little, too late.

So to some extent that is the way things are. Yet lately events have again been creating the opposite (?trend). You understand that everyone is again stating these decrees, these announcements, from the Russian side. Again it [words indistinct] attention, because everyone gets agitated and yet it's like a (?biological) structure. As long as there's no agitation, this—and the normal state is a state of peace [words indistinct] as we are getting agitated. What is necessary is agitation, and agitation is again reflected in activity. This very day the European Parliament is preparing a vast, broad statement on the Baltic issue. And it is they who have started this, it was not a request from us, no one has written to them, and perhaps no one would have listened to us. Today the situation has again provoked and agitated it. I have already seen the drafts, we have been asked to give a quick response, and it is incorrect and wrong if we [words indistinct] the appeal from the Baltic Council to governments about the fact that the Russian border guards are not letting us take over the border and so on. [end recording] [passage omitted, including indistinct passages]

Views Citizenship Issue, Foreign Troops

WSI211131492 Riga LETA in English 1320 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Riga, November 10 (LETA)—Not all the residents of Latvia can claim their rights to the Latvian citizenship, otherwise the chance of survival of the indigenous nation will be endangered. The main objective of the Foreign Ministry is reinforcement of the national sovereignty of Latvia and of the rights of the indigenous population, as well as adherence to the rights of representatives of other ethnic origins. This was the

content of the speech delivered on Tuesday to the Latvian parliamentarians by the newly appointed Latvian Foreign Minister Georg Andreyev, (60). He stressed that the presence of foreign troops in Latvia proved the aggressive policy toward the independence of Latvia, by its neighbouring state.

Gorbunovs Reports on Results of Vilnius Baltic Council Session

WSI211133092 Riga LETA in Latvian 1143 GMT 9 Nov 1992

[Text] Riga, 7 November (LETA)—"Although Russia has assured that President Yeltsin's order to stop the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states is connected mostly with Russian domestic affairs, the Baltic Council is of the opinion that it effects the interests of Baltic States," said Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs at a news conference on 5 November, commenting on the Baltic Council session held in Vilnius. He added that Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia expressed their standpoint in this way, proving that steps will be taken in reply to such a Russian policy. Anatolijs Gorbunovs said that a joint statement was adopted in Vilnius for European political institutions, as well as for the UN secretary general. "We drew the attention of world society to the consequences of Yeltsin's decision," said the Latvian head of state. He expressed the view that Yeltsin's order was a kind of attempt by Russia to test the reaction of the Baltic states and also international reaction. Anatolijs Gorbunovs did not exclude the possibility that international reaction and reaction by the Baltic Council might help the Russian president to weaken the pressure of the opposition which is turned against him. When questioned about the consolidation of the three Baltic states, Anatolijs Gorbunovs replied that the Baltic Council has always had certain difficulties in coordinating standpoints, but this does not mean that it does not have a joint platform, especially in matters connected with the troop withdrawal. Yeltsin's order in a way has even reinforced our joint position, added the Latvian head of state. However, he did not deny that in each Baltic state the situation is different, meaning by this Lithuania, which "has already resolved many questions still outstanding in Latvia."

Anatolijs Gorbunovs also stated that he has just received a letter from the Russian president. It says that Russia generally confirms its will to withdraw the Army from Baltic states, but at present it has not solved the social and economic problems of the Army which is to be withdrawn. The letter also notes the necessity to speed up the preparation of the agreement on troop withdrawal. The letter stresses that Russia regards with optimism the future relations of both countries. Nevertheless, the civil rights of Russian-speaking inhabitants will always remain at the center of Russia's attention. The chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council added that although he had not yet studied the letter thoroughly, it was clear to him that the Russian president did not mention a possible meeting at the highest level.

Anatolijs Gorbunovs said that he himself is also not ready to meet Boris Yeltsin, until both states clarify the following two questions. On the part of Latvia—what possibilities await those Latvian inhabitants who do not gain citizenship; and on part of Russia—what is the final date of all troop withdrawals. If we cannot answer these questions, there is no point in our meeting, added Anatolijs Gorbunovs.

Russian, Latvian Army Officers Discuss Troop Movement Rules

OW1111104292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1025 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commanders of Russian and Latvian armed forces stationed in Ventspils have this week had a meeting discussing ways of carrying out the regulations for the movement of foreign armed forces through Latvian territory introduced by the Latvian Government on August 28.

The regulations have repeatedly been violated by Russian forces. Thus, an attempt was recently made to send missiles and other weapons out of Latvia via the Ventspils port without appropriate documents.

Our correspondent reports that the Russian officers pledged to ask for the consent of the Latvian Defense Ministry and State Security Service to any movement of their materiel within Ventspils District. Russian soldiers will not leave their bases unless accompanied by officers.

An agreement was also reached on the transfer of Russian armed forces property to Latvia. This will be done on the basis of documents indicating the cost of the property. Any military materiel taken out of the district will be subject to customs inspection.

Draft Decree Proposes Rescinding Troops' Accommodation Rights

PM1011155592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Nov 92 p 3

["Direct Line" report by Valeriy Gromak: "Only a Threat at the Moment, but They Could Actually Start Evicting the Servicemen"]

[Text] Riga—The plight of Russian servicemen in Latvia is becoming increasingly serious. Recently the Latvian department for citizenship and immigration elaborated a draft decree specifying that the republic's housing legislation does not apply to servicemen of the former USSR and members of their families. The draft proposes that the vouchers previously issued for apartments and the contracts concluded with servicemen for the hire of these accommodations should be deemed invalid.

The "Satversme" faction—the biggest in parliament—has already approved the document. Observers have no

doubt that the Latvian Republic Supreme Council will also pass the decree. The only debate is over how the military will be evicted.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Warns of Potential Damage From Slow Western Aid

OW1211061992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1635 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It has taken Western Europe too much time to respond to Lithuania's call for aid, Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis said in Brussels Tuesday, as he was making a report during the conference on the development of the European community.

The Lithuanian republic's mission to the EC announced that speaking about Lithuania's integration with Western Europe, Landsbergis noted that slowness in rendering aid to Lithuania creates dangers which may push Lithuania from the western way of development it has chosen.

On November 11, Landsbergis is returning to Lithuania.

Envoy Discusses Suspension of Russian Troop Pullout

OW1111043092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1646 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] There have been no applications from Russia within the established deadlines for the further withdrawal of troops from Lithuania. This is indirect evidence that the military are going to act on President Yeltsin's instruction suspending the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic states, Lithuania's charge d'affairs in Moscow Egidius Bickauskas has said.

He does not rule out contacts between Moscow and Vilnius in the near future, including those at the highest level, to discuss the question of troop withdrawal.

Bickauskas said it was not a great surprise for him to learn that President Yeltsin had ordered the suspension of the troop pullout, but added he was greatly upset by that decision. Bickauskas said he was surprised by the fact that the presidential decision mentioned problems in effecting the pullout in wintertime. "This is all very strange, it may seem that the people who concluded the agreement on the pullout from Latvia in September did not know that winter would begin in Russia in a few months", Bickauskas said. The Lithuanian charge d'affairs said the "unilateral decision caused mistrust towards the reliability of one's partner".

Bickauskas dismissed any attempts to link the withdrawal with social guarantees for the servicemen being

withdrawn from Lithuania. "We are not going to pay for this with our own money", he said. At the same time the diplomat said that Lithuania had asked third countries to try to help Russia in establishing a social safety net for the servicemen and received positive replies. "We are not saying we won't help Russia in that matter in the future, but we are strongly against this linkage", Bickauskas said. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister on Russian Pullout, Borders, Embassies

WS1211130092 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1401 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] Vilnius, 10 November 1992—Speaking yesterday at the Government meeting held at the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Algirdas Saudargas noted that the main Lithuanian merit in the foreign policy was the consolidation of the achievements in Helsinki and saying that Lithuania would not be a part of the CIS military zone. The second merit is the schedule of the pullout of the Russian military troops signed on September 8 in Moscow.

There are still many difficulties in determining the air and sea borders with Russia, this problem does not arise dealing with Latvia, Poland and Belarus. Now it is very important to sign an agreement with CIS on trade and damage compensation and to reorganize the Lithuanian representatives in Moscow into the embassy of Lithuania and form its consulates in St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad.

Lithuania has 13 embassies abroad, 36 representatives are working there. The bigger part of Lithuanian diplomats accredited abroad have come to this meeting of the Government. The most welcome guests are the Lithuanian representative in the U.N. A. Simutis and the Lithuanian ambassador in Great Britain and North Ireland V. Balickas.

Government To Pay Rubles for Russian Gas, Oil

WS1011130692 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1558 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] 9 November 1992—During a press conference at the Energetics Ministry deputy minister Robertas Tamosiunas said that during this quarter Lithuania will pay Russia roubles for gas and oil. The price will be changed from US dollars to roubles based on the rates fixed by the Russian Central Bank. (Currently 1 US dollar—approximately 400 roubles). A thousand cubic metres of gas will cost 85 dollars; for a ton of oil—minimum 110 dollars. Lithuania will have to present its response to the offer within five days.

For electric energy, heating and fuel, consumers are in debt to Lithuania for 5 billion talons. If the debts are

repaid, Lithuania would not have such difficulty to settle accounts with Russia, which could amount to payment for 650 million tons of oil and up to 1.2 million cubic metres of gas.

Minister Cites Priorities in Foreign Economic Policy

OW1111034392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1843 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Vytenis Aleskaitis believes the priority for his country is now to develop economic ties with the CIS states Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. At a meeting of the Lithuanian government in Vilnius Tuesday the minister indicated among the closest foreign economic partners of Lithuania such North European countries as Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland, as well as the EEC countries.

The newspaper "Lietyvis Aydas" reported that Aleskaitis named the review of foreign investment policy as one of the goals for the near future. He said it is very important for Lithuania to conclude trade agreements on textile and fish products with the EEC, as well as to prepare an agreement on free trade with Latvia and Estonia.

Electoral Commission Orders Check of MPs' KGB Links

OW1111112192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1025 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] None of the newly elected members of the Lithuanian Seimas will be issued identity cards before the commission investigating the KGB's activities in Lithuania informs the Central Electoral Commission that they have never collaborated with the KGB. According to the Respublika newspaper, this will be done on the basis of a decision taken by the Central Electoral Commission at its meeting yesterday, with 13 members voting in favor of it, four against, and three abstaining.

The election law stipulates that the Central Electoral Commission should announce the election results within a week after the voting and issue identity cards to the Seimas members within another three days.

Observers in Vilnius believe 10 days is too short a period to check whether each of the 141 MPs has collaborated with the KGB. According to Respublika, the commission has already broken the law by failing to issue cards to the Seimas members elected in the first round of voting.